CONTEMPORARY ETHIOPIA

Contemporary Ethiopia

BY

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Editor, Ethiopian Herald

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Dedicatory Note

This is the sketch of an epoch, the vital details of which, guided by the force and influence of the ideals of Haile Selassie, First Emperor, Ethiopian posterity will faithfully embellish. To this architect of Modern Ethiopia and, coincidentally to them, is this work dedicated.

The Author.

FOREWORD

Ethiopia came to the fore in world thinking this century primarily because of a fundamental flaw in the machinery of world peace and security. Otherwise, the millions now interested in this ancient African Kingdom might not only have lacked interest in that country, they would have been thinking about it in terms of just another insignificant element in the unexplored and fallow expanse of world geography. War has the unplanned effect of aiding the public in knowing much about remote places; it uncovers, in addition to these spots, people, their way of life and their civilizations. For Ethiopia it was a rediscovery, since the annals of history, particularly ancient, make special mention of this country, while totally omitting most of the great and vigorous nations of more recent origin.

Many works have been written on Ethiopia, the majority of them stemming from the impetus of European expansion into Africa, with a very significant tapering-off period in recent years. In this first half of the Twentieth Century, really the most prolific with important events in the life of the land of Queen Sheba, the information available is far too sparse on the constructive side. For this reason, have I attempted to write this book, principally intended to inform the public of what has actually been taking place in this ancient yet new country for the past two generations. I began by writing the introduction because there are certain considerations which make it essential, both for myself, as well as for those who might read this work, that some clarifications be made to aid in the proper appraisal of what would be herein contained.

Still known to many people as "Abyssinia," Ethiopia is a country still shrouded with legend. Even the source of the history of its rule, the Queen of Sheba story, is still considered in the vein of a legendary episode for the thrilling of the young and for the amusement of the mature. The land of "Prester John" still is considered by those who take literary excursions into ancient and medieval chronicles, as a

wonderland in which hair-raising stories of fabulous power and African lore play the most important part. To the more initiated, such events as the Moslem invasion of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the controversy over the Treaty of Uccialli in the last decade of the nineteenth, the Battle of Adowa in 1896, when under the leadership of Menelik II and Empress Taitu, the Italians were defeated, Mussolini's rape of the nation and the failure of the League of Nations to assure collective security, Haile Selassie's impassioned plea for the rights of small nations in Geneva and his prophetic return to his kingdom highlight the important features of a passing chapter in the history of this small partner in the world of states. The day to day march of the nation and its people on the road to progress has had just cursory mention. To sketch this latter is the mission of this book.

Then too, Ethiopia is an African State. Measured by western standards, and accepted by herself, she is considered undeveloped. When speaking to people from the West, and more so to people of my own United States of America, the term Africa at once recalls the fantastic stories which have for centuries fashioned the thought. It conjures at short notice in their minds the fallacy of wild country and equally wild people. The misnomer of the "dark continent," over which most students of world affairs seem to gloat, basking in the sunshine of travelogues which bristle with half truths, too often provides the supposition of the argument when African problems are posed. Brushing aside the far-reaching and sterling contributions in art, literature and civilization in general, of which Africa must claim a part, writers, publicists and other persons imbued with the spirit of paternalism, continue to speak of Africa in a manner belittling to its millions of souls. To cap it all, the questionable premises and conclusions of anthropologists, archaeologists and other servants of what is known as the "dominant" cultures, are drafted to becloud the perspective through which the peoples of Africa should be viewed. Ethiopia bears her share of this cobweb of the past; but events of this, the first half of the Twentieth Century, are unconsciously gnawing away at this humbug, this obstacle to man's human approach to man.

The poison of race superiority, regardless of the times and consequences, which has kept the minds of the enlightened tethered to the old concepts of intolerance and prejudice, still pervades the thinking of many of those entrusted with the vital task of disseminating truth to

the masses of men. The passage of John VIII, 32, still holds good, however, "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free."

Nearly seven years of sojourn and activity in Ethiopia has influenced my pen to write this book. I believe that in the interest of universal brotherhood, to cherish and accept a common fatherhood, matters about Africa necessitate a new appraisal and new approach. Ethiopia's struggle during the first fifty years of this century, is an impelling page in the new manifesto by which men of good will the world over should plumb their bearings in meeting the problems and guarding the interests and contributions of African peoples, not only in Africa, but everywhere.

The period under study has seen two world wars. There is much fear everywhere that a third is impending. Many believe, and with a great deal of earnestness and truth, that Ethiopia was the first victim in the struggle of the forces of hate and race bigotry to condemn the world to a life of suppression and domination. Even today, in the southern tip of the continent of Africa, the theory and practice of racism against which the democratic enclave of the modern world fought so valiantly, seem anchored and flourishing under the very nose of those fighting for the equality of all men and the inviolability of the human person.

In the midst of the concourse of such events, behind just this sort of background, in an era when cataclysmic forces are at work influencing the course of human destiny, Ethiopia is modernizing herself. The leaven of liberation is making itself felt in other parts of the continent. Asia is torn with strife, and nationalism is on the march. Now hanging in the balance, world peace and security can only be assured when there is mutual appreciation of each people's life and ways, with a corresponding mutual respect for each other's strivings, and yet, a mutual regard for each other's rights.

Although seemingly prosaic, unsung and unheralded, Ethiopia, in the Horn of Africa, the most ancient Kingdom in the continent, plods on steadily as the following pages will show. The pace in this direction has been epitomized in the regime of Haile Selassie First, Elect of God, Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah. He has inspired his people, so that the land of Prester John is taking shape as a peaceful, progressive and modern State. Ethiopia and the Ethiopians know full well that, given time and the aroused conscience of the masses of mankind to the principles of truth and morality, the modern structure en-

visaged and carved out for them by His Majesty the Emperor, will eventually come about. Thus, the first half of the Twentieth Century has seen the unfolding of the unwavering resolve of them all to strengthen the ancient foundations and, on them, to build constructively for the present and the future. This book sketches how this is being done.

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CONTEMPORARY ETHIOPIA

CHAPTER ONE

Background

A land of contrasts, Ethiopia is a country in which is found a happy blending of the ancient and the modern. In a physical sense, this feature is everywhere obvious, particularly in the capital and in the larger centres where the embracing kiss of modernization has not eradicated the centuries old rubrics of an ancient but rich civilization. The peasants could be seen driving stolidly their ass and guiding their laden camels, utilizing, like their most ancient forebears, the packed animals for methods of transport. The muleteer and the horsemen, as if by legendary fixation, conduct their caravans from one part of the country to another. In *their* world, time is not the master but the servant of a leisurely custom which has become the flesh and bone of a certain segment of the population. Fleet horsemen and horsewomen manipulate their steeds from village to village and from community to community, almost oblivious of the speedy march of Twentieth Century time.

In the same breath, deft hands conduct animal driven chariots—transport for freight and passengers—the same system which in other climes marked the beginning of modern transportation. And, more than not, the sleek automobiles of the era could be seen bearing hither and yon those whose taste and fortunes dictate their use. Surface transportation for freight and passengers is shared to an ever increasing degree by trucks (called lorries) cutting their course through the intricate mesh of roads from end to end of the 350,000 square miles of territory. From this base to the apex, which is reached by the utilization of air transport, all the elements of ancient and modern carriage for men and materials are joined together and operate simultaneously in this melange of cultures which is Ethiopia.

The land of Queen Sheba lives in the present with its feet firm in

the path of its past. Knowingly or unknowingly, no one can think of Ethiopia today without taking into consideration the gleam of the ancient civilization which was once possessed by the proud successors of Menelik I, Piankeh, Yohannes, Teodoros, Menelik II and the other famed rulers who passed through the course of the nation's history. As one journeys through the countryside of this African land, from the tukuls, the ancient castles of Gondar, the Monoliths of Aksum, of Lalibella and other ancient shrines in which churches have been carved out of solid rock, to the modern structures which today raise their mechanical heads into the Ethiopian ether, they all speak most eloquently of the rich splendour of a civilization hoary with human ingenuity. The ancient Greeks wrote about the inhabitants of ancient Ethiopia as the "blameless Blacks." Greater Ethiopia extended far beyond its present borders, contact with the West was carried on through maritime trade and the strength of Ethiopia's culture, far back in pagan times, now is a matter of record.

Against such an essentially rich and sound background live the people of present day Ethiopia, a people proud in the fact that their roots are planted in a past which is not lost, but preserved in the culture, art, religion and ancestry of unbroken continuity. Deep in the hinterland today, men and women, untouched by our Twentieth Century influence, live out their lives in a manner identical to that followed by generations long sealed in the eon of eternity. Their witticisms, folklore and devotion to the old and fundamental verities have become a second nature. They consider valid, and preserve the rights of the members of their community, not purely from force of the law of the central Government, but because they have been customarily born to such a birthright. The priest is considered their spiritual leader, and in case of social disagreement, they seek his aid, firmly believing that religious morality is the driving force behind a happy life.

In thought, the Ethiopian is often considered by the visitor as cagey, not bold, self-effacing and artful. Most evident, in contact with him, is the exuberant courtesy with which he engages the stranger to his country. Frankly, as an American, I can say, without threat of successful contradiction, that the Ethiopian is an example to those who, by dint of modern sagacity, believe that hospitality should be shared only by one's friends. Take a typical case of the Italians who still live out their lives in that country. There they are, 4,000 strong. Despite the known fact

that the Italians as occupiers acted without scruple in attempting to subjugate the Ethiopian, and that some of their methods were really inhuman and unorthodox, every Italian with whom I spoke said that they preferred to stay in Ethiopia rather than return to Italy. This is a proven fact. The number of Italians since the Liberation of Ethiopia has increased rather than decreased. While it must be made clear that His Imperial Majesty, the inspirer of his people, did much to make this attitude of tolerance the official view of the country, it is most evident that what he did by proclamation was only to give official fiat to what is already established as the very nature of the people. In the Mercy Proclamation of His Imperial Majesty to the Ethiopian people in 1940, this significant passage occurs, *"When I ask you to observe these things, it is because my heart tells me that the Ethiopian people are fair in their recognition of the rules governing civilized man."*

The mainspring of the psychological mechanism of the Ethiopian is so different from that of his western visitors that the reaction is usually unexpected and unexplainable. It is for this reason that the latter usually takes the attitude that he is cagey, shy and self-effacing. The differing values are responsible for this reaction. The history of the whole continent of Africa is replete with instances of the childish credulity of the African. In most instances, this childlike belief in humanity had played into the hands of those whose intentions were adverse to the African's interest. The Ethiopian, in essence, still possesses and manifests this open fraternity for all men, and especially for strangers. From the anvil of experience, however, he has learnt to protect his interests against those who would abuse his confidence. Herein lies the misconception that he does not trust the stranger.

This work is not intended to be political in its scope nor in its treatment. It is, however, true that the attitude which is so definitely mistaken, springs from the fact that self-preservation has had to be the watchword for these centuries, if not there would not have been still existing a free and independent Ethiopia. Before the second half of the nineteenth century, Ethiopia was a maritime power. It had its seacoast. This natural frontier was lost because, in many instances, of imperialist betrayal. The whole under-tone of the loss and regaining of Ethiopia's natural frontiers is this fact. With a little thought from men of good will, it could be readily appreciated that the Ethiopian, as a normal reflex, must now look to his oars or continue to be duped by those who,

with wily intentions, will rob him of his age-old freedom and independence.

The foregoing observation coupled with the pattern set throughout the continent, where Ethiopia still remains an independent island in a sea of colonial domination, should give the clue to the mistaken reaction which the foreign visitor gets from meeting with the Ethiopian. On the contrary, and this has been substantiated by the majority of travellers to Ethiopia today, the hospitality of the Ethiopian is yeoman. He is kind and considerate, and, both Government and people seem to strain every effort to make their guests happy and at home. Ethiopians still remember, and that vividly, that the great game to partition Africa is not ended. Regrettably, events of the first half of the Twentieth Century have done very little to convince them otherwise. They had to face the Italian invasion in 1935, and as yet the rectification of that misdeed has not made it easy for them to appreciate the sincerity of the world in recognizing right and dispensing justice.

Innumerable forces seem to converge to keep the African uncertain about his future. This is true of the whole continent. It is commensurately true of Ethiopia and the Ethiopians. Having been free for all these centuries, and knowing what the heels of oppression are from the five years of enemy occupation, a psychological resistance must necessarily pervade the thinking of the masses of the Ethiopian people. In addition, in the global strategy for colonial domination of undeveloped lands which has been the international vogue for the past century, many theories have been advanced, which tend to engender fear in the hearts of the inhabitants of the whole continent.

Blessed with certain natural barriers to easy conquest, anthropologists, archaeologists and other preachers of the division of mankind have been at work in an effort to weaken the position of Ethiopia where her natural affinity and common interests with other African peoples are concerned. Thus, many books have been written and many theories advanced to place Ethiopians in a racial fog. Those who have lived in Ethiopia long enough and have had the privilege of the common touch, must be convinced that Ethiopians are learning from bitter experience that those who would try to falsify their identity are playing the old game of "divide and conquer" through which the strength of Africans has been sapped.

Arising from its deep sleep of isolation—a method adopted by the

people to preserve themselves from the wiles of the despoiler—Ethiopia in the first half of the Twentieth Century is a waking sphinx. Endowed with abundant natural resources, ample rainfall, extensive flora and a varied and rich fauna, her people sober and intent towards their general betterment, she is on the march again to the pristine glory of which her ancient existence boasted. The recent decision of the United Nations to keep Eritrea and Ethiopia together, which reinstates some of her ancient ports, will have an enormous beneficent influence on the future of the country. The fundamental bottleneck to the development of the country lay in the fact that she was bottled up from the loss of her seacoast. This notwithstanding, it will be revealed in this book that the last fifty years, to be exact from 1890, have seen the land of "Prester John" moving forward to her place in the modern sun.

Formerly consisting of many kingdoms, it was by the master stroke of Menelik II in 1890, that modern Ethiopia began to retrace her steps to national power. The essential attributes of statehood were never abandoned, even during the centuries of the rivalry between the various kingdoms. Then men knew what it was to fight for the preservation of their liberty; they tilled the soil for their sustenance and sought within the limits of their knowledge and experience to convert nature into the handmaiden of survival. Trades and crafts flourished; for even today, under the light of modernization, many of the articles for civilized living are produced through the medium of the ancient crafts handed down from their ancestors. Ethiopians fashioned their own spears, bringing the iron from the earth and processing it to be used in this craft. Weaving of cloth, spinning of yarn and many textile products are still manufactured by hand—a tremendous source of self-help to the peasants in the hinterland. Religious accoutrements of fine primitive art still occupy a large number of Ethiopian craftsmen. Leather and leather goods, straw weaving and other basic crafts, still come from the family store, in some parts, un-influenced by anything from abroad.

But this native genius was found by Menelik II to be inadequate to meet the newer life which the country had perforce to live. In his sagacity, he sought to bring the influence of education to his people. The first public school was opened in the capital in the first decade of the Twentieth Century. Primarily occupied in the task of unification, it was not until His Imperial Majesty, then Prince Ras Tafari, came to the service of the country that the foundations were shored up and a

modern superstructure superimposed. Today, Ethiopian leaders are not for the most part untrained. The majority of them has had a good measure of training. And this, coupled with the experience which comes from doing for oneself, has provided Ethiopia with hands with which to carry forward the duties of statecraft and other phases of community living. Menelik II is appropriately called the unifier of his country; Haile Selassie First is most fittingly the builder. Almost two decades of the century had gone when he came to the helm. This did not deter him from pressing forward his vision to build a modern state on the ramparts of the old. This is what he has done, exactly. It becomes feasible and most appropriate to say that tying together all the threads of progress woven by his predecessor, His Majesty the Emperor has knitted them together, producing the fabric which has been woven in this first half of the Twentieth Century.

Naturally, at the time of his ascendancy, the old trappings had to be cut and new ideas and actions substituted. This was done with the idea of blending what is good and durable from the past with what is salubrious from the modern era. It took courage and a sure hand to do this without causing the edifice to crumble; it took firmness as well as sympathy to mould the old with the new; it took strong faith in his vision, which was clear, to bring about a condition in which all will cooperate toward a happy end. All these were accomplished through the fact that Haile Selassie knew his country and his people and kept his hand in those of Providence in Whom he has a firm faith. The church, as always, was and has remained a firm collaborator in the welding of the forces which have influenced the course of events in Ethiopia for this first half of the Twentieth Century.

Modern Ethiopia is, therefore, a mosaic in which is interwoven the beneficial strains of community living hammered out on the anvil of antiquity with those progressive skeins of the Twentieth Century, consciously selected and utilized in a pattern designed by a far-seeing, benevolent and sympathetic Monarch. The fruits of this tree are ever evident. In war and in peace the Ethiopian people, having been made conscious of their destiny under God, are plodding, in terms of the modernists, slowly; but in the over-all perspective, surely, onward and upward. Given peace and the elemental opportunities of a stable world, it is no exaggeration to expect that generations of social engineers will bring her to a position of glory among the modern nations of our present day world.

CHAPTER TWO

Pertinent Geographic Features

Wrongly called "Abyssinia," the Ethiopian nation lies between 1° and 15° north latitude and 33° and 48° east longitude. More than this, it lies in the way of complete colonization of the continent of Africa and blocks the passage of the caravan of conquest which would have joined certain regions into territory under one rule. In addition, her difficult terrain and the well-known spirit of her people who always considered foreign penetration fatal to their independent existence, made her territory the subject of a program of gradual penetration which ended in encirclement in the latter half of the nineteenth century. What was known as Greater Ethiopia in ancient times and later as a maritime nation, was whittled down into what became a land-locked kingdom debarred from free access to international sea lanes.

The estimated 350,000 square miles area of Ethiopia has today become bounded on three sides by territory which once formed part of this ancient land. To the north, and north-east, therefore, is found Eritrea, formerly "Medra-Bahr" which fell into the hands of Italy officially in 1870; Anglo-Egyptian Sudan borders her on the West, the land of the Dervishes with whom King Theodore and Menelik II had to wage campaigns to protect the integrity of their country; Italian Somaliland and Kenya form the southern boundaries of Ethiopia, the former, part of a scramble which made Italy, France and Britain immediate neighbours; the eastern frontier is formed by the junction of the remaining third of this latter booty—by French and British Somalilands. After the chase, through several treaties, these boundaries were delimited to meet the trial of strength of the partitioners. In this connection, it must be recalled that a period, rich with diplomatic intrigues dating from the latter half of the nineteenth century, bequeathed to the twentieth, culminated in the Italo-Ethiopian war of 1934-1935. The historic challenge, which brought down the League of Nations and which

threatened the very foundations of the United Nations as an organization for the maintenance of international security, were the fruits of this drama of Ethiopian national integrity against the background of European expansion in Africa.

Ethiopia, since that time, remained an incomplete geographical unit with its access to the sea in the hands of her surrounding neighbours. It consists, for the most part, in a mountainous tableland surrounded by a fringe of low country. The natural features of this kingdom, rising sometimes as high as 7,000 to 8,000 feet above sea level, answer the general description of seven almost distinct districts. Stretching from Eritrea, south to the latitude of Addis Ababa, the present capital, the central plateau has a general level of nearly 8,000 feet. Above it rises the mountain mass of Simen, the highest point of which reaches an altitude of 15,000 feet, while those of Choque in Gojjam, Abuna Josef in Lasta and Amba Farit in Wallo are all above 13,000 feet. Numerous river gorges and ravines intersect this plateau in many directions through which the water flows as low as 4,000 feet below. Its drainage, flowing to the west, is divided between the systems of the Abbai or Blue Nile and the Takkazze which joins the Atbarra that rises at a height of 9,500 feet in Gojjam, south of Lake Tanna. Almost inaccessible after the first 20 miles to navigation, the Abbai enters the Sudan, and among its many rapids, the Tchis Isat Falls is a cascade of much importance. The Takkazze which rises among the Lasta mountains also flows into the Sudan and forms the counterpart of this aquatic system with which the rich silt of the rainy season travels to support the fertility of that country.

The central plateau continues southwards in what is known as the southern plateau, lying to the west of the Rift Valley at a slightly lower level, its altitude decreasing southwards. With most of the characteristics of the central plateau, it is fertile and well-wooded country. The tributary of the White Nile known as the Sobat rises to the west of this district from the river Baro and is navigable as far as the Gambela by river steamers during the rainy season. A great deal of trade with the Sudan and Ethiopia finds its traffic on this water lane. The largest river of this section of the country, the Omo, rising on Mount Balbala on the edge of the central plateau, flows south into the well-known Lake Rudolf. The Sudanese slope which could be characterized as another geographical district is lowlying land below the western escarpment of

the plateau. This part is poorly watered and has sparse population. The Rahad and the Dinder, the headwaters of which are on the slope, are the two important rivers that cross the Sudanese slope.

A district known as the Danakil lies to the east of the Central plateau, bounded on the south by the Arusi-Harar plateau. In the northern half of the Gobar depression, this is low country below sea level, composed of barren desert and having the only active volcanoes in Ethiopia. Cultivation, however, is possible in the Aussa and Awash valley. The Awash, rising on the southern rim of the plateau west of Addis Ababa, finds its way into the northern part of the Danakil country and ends in a chain of lakes, of which the last and biggest is Lake Abbe.

The Somaliland plateau is bounded to the west, north-west and north by the mountains bordering the Rift Valley, which range is prolonged to the east into British Somaliland. From this high level the land gradually falls away to the south and southeast into the lower country of ex-Italian Somaliland. This part of the country is well-watered and fertile toward the north of the Arusi-Harar plateau, the Somaliland plateau being less fertile. The Ogaden, in which the Sinclair Petroleum Company is now drilling for oil on contract with the Ethiopian Government, lies in this region, and the principal activity is the nomadic grazing of cattle by the inhabitants according to the season. The largest draining area in this district is that of the Wabi Sheballi. This confluence receives its water from the tributaries that flow off the mountains which bound the plateau to the north-east and north, and so, running towards the south-east, enters ex-Italian Somaliland. The Juba river in ex-Italian Somaliland receives its water from that running off the high ground flowing south-east in converging courses into the frontier.

The Rift Valley which runs through many parts of north and east Africa, forms the depression running north and south between the eastern escarpment of the southern Ethiopian plateau and the west and north-west slopes of the Somaliland plateau. On the west, the mountains meet at Mount Guge, west of Lake Abbaya at a height of over 13,000 feet, as do the mountains to the east in the Chilalo range. The Awash, widening into the Danakil plain, receives the flow-off from the northern depression, a series of lakes forming to the east and west from the water that accumulates along the depression. In the southern slope —the Borona, marked by barren scrub country—the inhabitants water

their stock from wells dug by past generations. In this district there are few rivers.

So far as Ethiopia is concerned, the popular conception is that since this country is in Africa, the climate is tropical and unbearable. This is not true because in most regions of the country the climate is temperate and most agreeable. The mean maximum temperature and mean minimum temperature in Addis Ababa are 75.2° F. and 47.8° F. On the central plateau the temperature seldom reaches 95° while during the cooler periods of the year, and at heights of 6,500 to 8,000 feet, it occasionally falls a little before sunrise to 33° to 39° F. The most noticeable variation during the year occurs, as a general rule, during June and July with the onset of the rainy season when a fall in temperature occurs but seldom exceeds about 4° F.

This feature is less marked on the Somaliland plateau, especially in Harar where the temperature variations from month to month are particularly smaller than on the Central and Southern plateaux. On the Sudanese and eastern slopes and on the northwest slopes of the Somaliland plateau there is much greater range of temperature as well as more marked variation from month to month. It is over the steppe, subdesert and desert regions as in part of Borona, on the Somaliland tableland, in the Ogaden and particularly over the whole of the Danakil country, that this daily range of temperature is noticeable.

Humidity, a subject of importance to human existence, I believe, should not be left out. Minimum relative humidity in Ethiopia is met in the north and increases southwards on the central and southern plateaux along the Sudanese slope; is fairly high over the Somaliland plateau, particularly between the Gugu mountains and the highlands of Bale, but decreases towards British Somaliland and in Borona. This humidity is least in the Danakil country, a little greater in the Ogaden and reasonably low over the basin of the Rift Valley. In Addis the variation is from 8 per cent in December to 87 per cent in August with an annual mean of 66 per cent. Along the Sudanese slope the mean annual relative humidity increases southwards but the variations during the years are considerable. Relative humidity is lowest in March and April and highest in the rainy season; at Kassala the mean monthly relative humidity varies from 30 per cent in April to 66 per cent in August and at Gallabat from 30 per cent in April to 80 per cent in August. At Gambela relative humidity varies from 50 per cent in March to 87 per

cent in July and August. These conditions, in all probability, are representative of the whole Sudanese slope between Gambela and Lake Rudolf, as well as of the high regions of the southern plateau (Shoa-Girima, Kafa and Jimma).

The winds and water vapor of the air are probably more important features of the climate than the temperature. Ethiopia is subject to the influence of two large air streams—one south-westerly from the Indian Ocean and the South Atlantic and the other north-easterly from Arabia and the Red Sea. The former passes over hot ocean surfaces and regions of high humidity (Congo, Uganda and the Equatorial Lakes of Africa) and on arrival over Ethiopia contains a large amount of water vapor. Even the winds from Arabia and the Red Sea contain abundant water vapor on arrival over the eastern borders of the territory.

The intense atmospheric disturbances (in their extreme form, tornadoes) which occur in many tropical regions are rare in Ethiopia, probably owing to the low speed of the air currents. When such disturbances do occur they are generally of short duration and confined to the Ogaden, Borona and the Danakil country during the hottest period of the year.

The most important meteorological feature in Ethiopia is the rainfall, not only because of its visible effects, but also because of its economic repercussions and the direct and indirect consequences which it has on the rhythm of local as well as international life. Both with regard to distribution in frequency of rain and in amount, Ethiopia combines both the characteristics of the desert regions and those of the regions with more abundant rainfall. The heaviest rainfall occurs in the marginal zones of the level spaces between the mountains; that is to say, towards the southwest border, around Gore, where average annual rainfall exceeds 1,800 mm., distributed over 177 days, although in some years more than 2,600 mm. of rain have been recorded. In general there is a single rainy season each year marked by periods of varying duration in which rainfall is slight, and, except in the south part of Borona and on the Somali tableland, these periods of little rain do not justify the rainy season being divided into two parts as has been the general conception in the past, as the big and little rains.

One of the chief features of the rains in Ethiopia is their tempestuous character, which sometimes results in spectacular effects. Another characteristic, although less general and widespread, is that of the large

amount of rain which falls in a brief period of time and which has erroneously been termed torrential. At medium altitudes hail is frequently associated with the rain but is of brief duration and no great importance; at greater heights it assumes remarkable proportions, remaining for several days and taking on the appearance of a fall of snow.

Geologically, like so many other parts of the African continent, Ethiopia is interesting. The geological structure of the country is more succinctly described by reference to the movements which have taken place in Tertiary and Quarternary times, as a part of the "Rift Valley" series of movements. These are best known in the Jordan Valley-Gulf of Akaba-Red Sea region and in the region of the African Lakes where there are two lines of fracture—an eastern line passing between Mount Elgon and Mount Kenya through Lakes Rudolf, Stephanie, etc., and along the Awash Valley, and a western line on which lie Lakes Albert Edward and Albert. The structural line of the western shore of the Red Sea is the eastern boundary of the Red Sea Hills in Egypt and the Sudan which is continued as the eastern boundary of the highland plateau roughly following the line of longitude 40° east.

Geologists believe that the characteristic structure is of horizontal sheets of bedded rock, forming the higher part of both the high and the low plateaux and that these are cut by faults. As a result, terraced scarps are common, due to erosion of faulting. Where erosion has removed all the stratified (including volcanic) rocks, the crystalline platform is sculptured into more irregular topographical forms. The coastal belt is marked by low scarps of normal denudational origin. The plateau-basalts form the western central highland region, but the river valleys have cut below the base of these into underlying Mesozoic rocks —the Antalo series on the eastern side, the Adigrat series (comparable with the Nubian sandstones of Egypt, Libya and the Sudan) appearing directly below the lava, etc., on the eastern edge of the highland plateau. The crystalline platform attains a greater height to the north and south, and this forms the high hills of southern Ethiopia. In the low plateau sheets of the basalt, the Magdala series, cap the region, the Mesozoic strata being more in evidence.

The mineral wealth of Ethiopia is as yet to a major extent unexplored. From the geology of adjacent regions, it could be extrapolated that the crystalline platform contains auriferous quartz veins, basic intrusions with platinum or chromite, veins carrying cassiterite (tin-

stone), wolfram, molybdenite, copper ores, mica and beryl. The crystalline schists may yield graphite marble, talc and asbestos. Streams draining the regions of auriferous quartz-veins or platiniferous basic rocks often contain the far more valuable alluvial deposits of these metals. The Mesozoic and Tertiary sediments may yield building materials, lignite, oil, salts, phosphates, sulphur, gypsum and manganese ore.

While a full appraisal of the mineral resources has been as yet impossible, gold is found in veins and in alluvial deposits. The known districts with veins of gold-bearing quartz are situated in Tigre, Amhara, Beni Shangul, Wallega, Gimira and Adola. The alluvial gold deposits of Harar show the existence of yet undiscovered veins. Platinum is found in Wallega, Yubdo and Beni Shangul, while many rich deposits of iron-ore have been reported near Ankober and Debre Tabor, in Gojjam and Shoa at Entoto near Addis Ababa and in other places. Manganese minerals have been found and confirmed on the central plateau; traces of copper minerals have been observed near Ankober and in the districts of Harar and Gurage. Deposits of wolfram, the principal source of tungsten, are said to occur in the basin of the Baro; deposits of sulphur are made use of by the natives in the lower Awash valley and in the Danakil country; small veins of asbestos are found in the windings of the Laga Harre near Dire Dawa.

Fuel deposits are reported at Chilga, Fitche, Tegulet, Debra Birhan, Debra Marquos and Balchi near Addis Ababa, at Lakempti in the lower Dadesa valley and Ometo. The peat of Dessie yields 2,000 calories. Good mica is reported at Shabelle in Jijjiga district, in the Ogaden and in Wallega. Thermal and mineral springs, whose virtues are much appreciated by the local people, are very frequent, above all on the edges of the great Danakil trough and of the Rift Valley lakes. There are usable springs in Addis Ababa and Ambo.

The description of the physical aspects of Ethiopia cannot be fully done in a work of this kind. It remains the specialty of those trained and experienced in the related fields to collate, interpret and disseminate these facts scientifically. What has been proffered in this brief chapter is some of the basic observations of the writer gathered through reading and excursive research. The material, however, gives a sketchy picture of the enormous potential of this almost virgin land awaiting the skills of modern technique to make their blessings available for the use of mankind.

Ethiopia is abundantly blessed, like so many other parts of Africa, with rich physical and mineral resources, a characteristic which marks her as a country of great promise. It is also true that the political history of the country, especially in the sphere of the international, has been tremendously influenced by her climate, fertility and the natural resources which were considered prizes in the scramble for the partition of Africa. None the less spectacular is the fauna and flora of the country which will be the subject of the succeeding chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

Tree, Flesh and Fowl

In the economics of a modern state, timber is very important. Although it cannot be said that the timber potential of Ethiopia has been thoroughly investigated, up to the present time very little timber is imported into the country. The forests provide a reserve of timber which is more than adequate to satisfy both existing and future demands for firewood and for building and industrial purposes. The real forest areas are to be found in the very damp regions of Southern Ethiopia and in parts of Harar. Unevenly distributed woods of some importance spread in other parts of the country, such as Beghemdir and in the valleys.

Among the many species of timber found, the most valuable ones could be named as follows: *Podacarpus,* with trunks up to 50 meters in height and as much as 2 meters in diameter—a light colored soft wood being extensively exploited in Kenya for all building purposes; the juniper (*Juniperusprocera*); Amharic, 'tid,' known as pencil cedar in Kenya, giving a reddish brown wood of a fine grain suitable for beams and furniture, termite resisting; the wild olive (*Olea chrysophilla*), with a very hard wood which is liable to splinter. On the lower levels, *Anogeissus leiocarpus,* with a corresponding species in the Sudan which provides good building poles abound. The variety of *Acacia,* known as *hashab* in the Sudan, which yields the commercial gum arabic, is known to grow freely in the Danakil country and near the Somali border where conditions are suitable, although so far not commercially exploited. The eucalyptus which has been introduced into the country less than fifty years ago has proven very useful, on account of its rapid growth, for fuel and poles in building native structures.

No attempt is made here to describe fully the fauna or flora of Ethiopia. In these days of scientific research, it would take many vol-

umes prepared by botanists and foresters and other specialists in this extensive field of science. Authentic compilation shows that in the valleys and lowlands vegetation is dense, but the plateaux are comparatively bare with thinly scattered trees and bushes. The glens and ravines are often thickly wooded and offer a delightful contrast to the open downs. These conditions are particularly characteristic in the north, the upland, in the south where vegetation is more luxuriant. The date palm, mimosa, wild olive, giant sycamores, junipers and laurels, the myrrh and gum trees, a magnificent pine (the Natal yellow pine, termite resistant), the fig, oranges, lemons, pomegranate, peach, apricot, banana, and other fruit trees, the grape vine, blackberry and raspberry, the cotton and indigo plants and the sugar cane are all to be found there.

Coffee is indigenous to Ethiopia, grows wild in certain areas, and is said to derive its name from the province of Kaffa, where it was first discovered by Monks. The high staple mocha coffee is extensively cultivated today, and this berry forms a substantial part of the nation's exports. Wheat, barley, maize and dura are the prevalent grain, known to the outside world. In Ethiopia, however, there is a very fine grain, used as the basic native grain, called *teff* from which a flat bread is made, and which can be found in the daily menu of every family. It is felt by some authorities that wheat originated in this region. In the late twenties, and again in 1950, the United States Department of Agriculture sent specialists into Ethiopia to find a species of wheat, which is fungus resistant, with which to graft the American varieties to make them strong enough for long-term storage.

Oil seeds which have in recent years become an important item of export and which provide the vegetable oils used plentifully by the people, exist in many varieties. Grasses and flowers abound together with many kinds of vegetables, some of them of more recent adaptation. Large areas in the highlands are covered by the Kosso tree, which grows from 30 to 40 feet high with abundant pendant red blossoms; the flowers and leaves are prized for their medicinal use. Here must be mentioned the *Musa Ensette,* a banana-like plant famed for its fibre of high tensile qualities, at present used in the manufacture of sacks and rope. The fruit, the *Kuraina,* found almost exclusively in the Province of Shoa, yields a black grain highly esteemed as a spice. The highly spiced diet of the Ethiopian people is made possible because of the

extensive cultivation of pepper, *berbere*, without which there can be no *watt*.

The Ethiopian plateau extends towards the Mediterranean, parallel with the Nile, which runs into that sea, and it may therefore be maintained that in the Ice Age, Mediterranean species came down to live on the mountain chain of Ethiopia, in the highest parts of which some of them have remained. The most typical examples are the magnificent Ethiopian Ibex (*Capra Walie*) and the Simen Wolf (*Canis simiensis*), which live only on that high massif. There is also among the birds in Simen, the Cornish chough.

Zoologists believe that in Ethiopia there are three distinct zoological provinces; the high massifs of the plateau, of Alpine character; the western region, chiefly mountains, alternating with forest and savanna, rich in animal life for which such conditions are suitable; the eastern region where, on account of the latitude and the absence of high mountains, desert savanna prevails, varied by the belts of forest which flank the bigger rivers.

The whole Ethiopian region and especially that of the Rift Valley Lakes would seem to be rich in animal life in general and in big game. The more important families and some of the characteristic varieties of mammals which distinguish the fauna of Africa from that of India are found in Ethiopia. Examples are the hippopotamus, plentiful in the rivers and lakes, except Lake Tana; the Somaliland giraffe (*Giraffa reciculata*), which is found as far north as the prairies and acacia woods in the district of Wanle Wen, even in places far from water, while the *Cameloparadalis* form inhabits territories bordering the Sudan, as far as the desolate plain between Gash and the Setit; a species of zebra (*Equus grevyi*) in the prairies near to woods and drinking places in Shoa and Southern Ethiopia, and another species (*granti*) in the territories of Lake Rudolf and Lake Stefanie; and the long-haired ant-eater (*Orycteropus afra*), a unique genus, found all over the country where there are ant hills.

Some of the greater mammals in Ethiopia are common to Africa and Asia, for instance, elephants and rhinoceroses, represented in Africa by distinct species. In the west Ethiopian low plain the African elephant is found scattered where there are forests and bamboo plantations near to water. In the Omo Valley, a little to the north of Lake Rudolf, a

great cemetery of elephants has been discovered. Two kinds of wild pig are represented by the bush hog and the African wart-hog.

The largest group of animals of interest to big game hunters is the bovine group, which includes many species of antelope; from the small and graceful dik-dik, whose skin is attractive but not hard wearing, to the greater Kudu, found in all the western region as far as Eritrea but greatly diminishing because it is subject to cattle pest. A smaller species is the lesser Kudu, which also has spiral-shaped horns and skin striped with white. The sing-sing water buck is an antelope with long hair, nearly as big as a donkey, which lives in the woods where there are wild cereal grasses, in the immediate neighborhood of water.

Ethiopia abounds with other antelopes such as the Speke's gazelle and some others, even in very dry country in both the western and eastern low plains; the *Oryx beisa,* very elegant with its coffee and milk coloring ornamented with black and its very long, pointed horns, in the Danakil country at the latitude of Assab and in Somaliland; the wild antelope. Some bush bucks are variously distributed in different parts, their distribution still not very well known. Mention must be made of the klipspringer, a small, high-mountain antelope which is found in mountainous regions of the plateau, where it scales sheer cliffs like a chamois.

Of the rodents, the porcupine and some species of hare are common everywhere. In the arid soil of Somaliland and in Shoa, one may frequently find conical mounds of earth with a hole in the middle from which sand is thrown out in spurts and accumulates around. These are the holes of sand rats, small rodents, exclusive to those areas, horrible to look at as their bodies are almost hairless, with a pink, wrinkled skin full of creases and warts, and very small, with half-closed eyes. The rodent mole is also found on pasturelands of the highlands.

Among the other rodents, a tree squirrel and some ground squirrels are to be found, especially on the high plateau; *Oreonys typus,* the only species of this genus, are found in Central Ethiopia, and a few others. In general, however, the number of species of small rodents in Ethiopia is less than in other countries of the world. The bat family is represented by some small bats and the larger fruit-eaters, including the *Pteropus schoenisis* in Southern Ethiopia. Some hedge-hogs and gerboa are among the insect eaters.

The first place among the carnivora is taken by the lion. Though scarce, this beast may be found anywhere in the neighborhood of drinking places and woodland and where there is plenty of game. The leopard is plentiful all over the country, from the plains to the mountains, as high as 10,000 feet, and is the object of intense hunting because of the value of its skin. The cheetah is probably found in all the western part of the land and in the bare and arid spaces of the Danakil country. The serval, the lynx and the African wild cat are fairly widely distributed. Hyaenas are common everywhere and are well known as, the spotted, the brown and the striped. The aard wolf, something between the hyaena and the civet, lives in the localities rich in termites, which are its only food. It is a valuable animal, preserved today by the international convention for the protection of the flora and fauna of Africa.

The musteline group is also well represented by a kind of badger which lives on honey; by skunks, not very common, and by two varieties of otter, one belonging to the Lake Tana district and another to the region of Addis Ababa. Beside the Simen wolf previously mentioned, there are jackals, members of the civet family and some species of genet and mongoose, both quite common throughout the country. There is a lemur found in East Africa which lives like all its kind on forest trees. The most common monkeys are the baboon and the grey-green Grivet monkey. Very beautiful tree monkeys with thick black and white coats and others abound. Native to Ethiopia are also two species of Gelada baboon.

The crocodile which is plentiful in rivers and lakes and the large monitors occupy first place among the reptiles of Ethiopia. Tortoises, some of which grow very big, frequent the not excessively dry localities both on the high plateau and in the plains. Snakes are numerous and include both large pythons and poisonous ones. There are also many species of poisonous scorpions and spiders. Numerous tailless amphibians of the toad and frog families are found and good species of fish, notably electric eels; lung fish abound in the water courses and are sometimes found buried in the mud during the dry season, coming to life again with the rains. The entomological and mollusc fauna is rich and has marked equatorial character; it is far from being well known and future investigations will certainly give important results.

No attempt could be presumed in this work at a thorough report on

the ornithology of Ethiopia in which she is so rich. The brief sketch is herein given to stimulate further investigation and to identify the more common game birds and others likely to be shot for food. Ample references are extant to which those interested in this phase of the country's resources may apply. The edible species consists, for the most part, of ducks, geese, francolin, quail, partridge, Guinea fowl, bustard, snipe, grouse, and pigeon.

The Abyssinian Yellow-billed, the African Black, the Wigeon, the Common Teal, the Red-bill and the Pin-tail are more prevalent duck with varying habits. Some may be seen all year round in streams and flooded patches. They are distinguishable by their colors and their gregarious habits and their meat is of varying degree of excellence as food for human beings. Ethiopians do not kill or eat ducks. The Egyptian goose, the Spur-winged goose and the Blue-winged goose are common in different districts. They feed on short grass and grain and frequent flooded areas. Three types of francolin are well known to the gamer: the Hardwood francolin, the Clapperton francolin and the Erckel francolin. Found in lower altitudes of the Blue Nile, the Ethiopians consider the Harwood francolin as the best table bird of the francolin family. The most widely distributed is the Clapperton francolin, which is common to scrub-jungle and very plentiful on the rivers near the Sudan frontier. They creep down the rivers every evening to drink and roost in trees usually in coveys. Plentiful in North-west Ethiopia between 7,000 and 9,000 feet and common around Addis Ababa and the Muger valley, the Erckel francolin is the largest of the three. The crow of the cock resembles the cackle of a domestic fowl that has just laid an egg.

The common quail which leaves Europe at the end of the harvest there to feast on the Ethiopian cornfields is a regular visitor to the plateau between the middle of October and the middle of April. They go in twos or threes, are much scattered throughout the country and are tame and easy to shoot. In the lower altitudes of the Blue Nile valley among the hot bare rocky areas in the bush-forest, the Kenya Stone-partridge are found. The bird resembles the bantam hen and its tail sticks up exactly like that of this domestic fowl. Throughout the whole of north-west Ethiopia the Sennar tufted Guinea fowl are plentiful, being most numerous in the lowland forest area, towards the frontier. On the plateau they are commonest on the Big and Small

Abbai and their tributaries at 6,000 feet but may be seen in smaller numbers up to 8,000 feet. The Black-bellied bustard, seemingly a migratory bird appearing to increase on the plateau at the beginning of the rainy season in June, is seen in smaller numbers throughout the year. Its flesh is exceptionally good eating.

Among the snipe, grouse and pigeon variety of birds, the pigeon and the dove are most remarkable; if for no other reason but that the Ethiopian people love to eat these birds. It is merely by custom, since there are no religious or social bans forbidding the eating of duck, bustard and similar birds. Bruce's Green pigeon, among others, is one of the best sporting birds on the plateau; it has also been seen at lower altitudes, as at Gallabat. Its movements are largely regulated by the abundance of fruit on the trees on which it feeds, for instance, on the *komad* which bears fruit like ivy-berries and the fig tree. It is tame but flies very fast, is never seen going to rivers to drink like other pigeons and doves and its flesh is excellent.

CHAPTER FOUR

Who Are the Ethiopians?

I

The question of ethnology has been made the whipping post of thinkers and tinkerers since the beginning of the ages. During a certain period of human existence, this has given rise to various theories, dubbed as scientific, which have tended to distort the picture of the brotherhood of man. In certain parts of the world, it would appear, the theories were designed to serve particular interests which have today brought unnecessary accentuations of these divisions based on inherent and natural attributes of mankind. These sometimes inconsistent theses have, for the most part, strained human relations and have influenced the pattern of social, economic, and political communion to the point of jolting even national unities. As a result, the world today is faced with many problems which spring from the psychology that has been buttressed by a fight for supremacy, and in some instances, constituted the struggle for a decent existence. Philosophy, art, religion, culture, indeed, the whole gamut of what is known as present day civilization have become polluted with the arbitrary denomination which has now assumed the nature of a scourge in the normal and natural scheme of humankind.

A glance at parts of the present known world and the gross inequalities of opportunities, the examples of forced degradation and the disappointment with which peoples are forced to spend their existence *vis a vis* the avowed extension of morality and culture, find their roots in racial and ethnological nuisances. It is still the vogue to speak of the Slav, the Indian and what is commonly misnamed the "Negro" with a generality which is a caricature of the lofty stages to which science and

general enlightenment have brought civilized man. It has never been contradicted that so far as Africa and Asia are concerned, this misanthropy became the foundation of a system of spiritual and physical exploitation—proof of to what extent God's creation has been utilized in sub-human self-interest.

Any treatise dealing with Africa or parts thereof, to be frank and constructive, must take into consideration the thick racial fog into which these people have been placed by the ethnological controversy of inferior and superior races. To the Ethiopian, and rightly, any subscription to this fallacy is purely accidental. He thinks of himself and the African peoples in the continent and everywhere else as a proud and important segment in the world. Repeatedly and constantly forced by the world pattern to accept a role completely inconsistent with his history, culture and contribution to civilization, he is inclined always to question the untenable theories on race based on unscientific half-truths. Time and again, I have been confronted with questions from people in all walks of life in Ethiopia as to the acquiescence of people of African descent in the West to the appellation "Negro." No deal of pragmatism, they believe, should permit the glorification of a pseudonym, itself so charged with derogation, by people who have reached the age of assertiveness, and who, by all accepted standards, and wherever they are, reflect so genuinely the virility, courage and stamina of their ancient forebears from the Continent of Africa. To the reply that "a rose by any other name will smell just as sweet," the Ethiopian retorts that no one will call an orchid a willow. Although Ethiopia is a country of a rich ethnography, the tribal skeins fairly pronounced, with pardonable pride, the people choose to call themselves Ethiopians in the narrower sense and African in the broader.

Ethiopia is composed of a large number of tribes at different stages of development and with differing customs. The religious pattern is made up of Christians, Moslems and pagans. Before the infusion of Christianity in the fourth century and the later intrusion of the Moslems, Ethiopia enjoyed a high pagan civilization. So far as Christianity is concerned, the land of Prester John is among the oldest Christian nations of the world, having embraced that religion since 330 A.D. Without exception, all the people enjoy full liberty of conscience and, in the eyes of the law, equal civic rights. Except for the Gragn penetration in the 16th century, when the Moslems tried hard to convert

all the Ethiopians to Mohammed, there has never been religious intolerance in Ethiopia. Since the beginning of this century, freedom of conscience has been even more firmly guaranteed.

The whole of North-east Africa, many thousands of years B.C. was settled by immigrants of the Hamitic branch of the line of Noah, and the Ethiopians believe that the Cushites occupied and settled in their land. Naturally, the region was not uninhabited when they arrived, and today, a large part of the Ethiopian population is an admixture of the occupiers and those settlers whom they encountered in Ethiopia. It is believed that some of the Cushites have remained up to today in a fairly pure state, a question which seems moot, because of the similar characteristics found in all the tribes extant today. Following the Hamitic penetration came a series of Semitic invasions which probably took place during the second millennium B.C. These invaders spread over the high plateau—Eritrea, Tigre, Amhara, Gojjam and through Shoa, as far as Gurage. Either the Semites were of a small number, or the assimilation was very complete, because their influence could be traced only by the Semitic character of the languages spoken in the regions of their penetration. In North Ethiopia the Agau and the Falasha are said to represent the remnants of the Cushite group. The Agau are found mainly in their own country, Agaumdir, west Gojjam, and thence northwards for some distance into Dambiya and eastwards into Damot, also into Lasta and Wag. The original home of the Falasha was in Simen, but they are now much scattered, many of them living west and south of Gondar.

In the valleys and lowlands of Ethiopia today are the Waitu or Wata who inhabit the neighborhood of Lake Tana, the Manjo in Kafa and the Kwayegu in Gimira who are said to represent part of the original African stock which inhabited the country before the Hamitic and Semitic penetrations. The line of the caravan of invasion of the Semitic migrants followed a certain physical delimitation. They were able to occupy Shoa, Gojjam Amhara and Tigre. The rest of the existing population—original and Cushite peoples—gave fierce resistance to their influence. It is noted, therefore, that the Cushites, the Galla (of later arrival), the Somali, the Danakil and the Shanquilla tribes look with pride to the fact that their culture was strong enough to resist any telling effect of the Semite penetration. The Bible makes reference to the "land of Cush" which is even today identified as Ethiopia.

In Southern Ethiopia the Cushite tribe is widely represented with some differences in the level of civilization attained by each branch. In addition to growing grain, they cultivate the *musa ensete*, the staple food for some of them and remarkable for its fibre, which is used in the manufacture of fine rope. They grow tobacco, coffee and cotton. Principal of the tribes are the Gurage, mostly Moslem in faith, who live in the southwest of Shoa, the Kambata, south of Gurage and east of the Omo; the Janjiro and Kulo west of the Omo; the Kaficho in the Province of Kafa and the Walamo on the plateau north of Lake Abbaya. Closely connected with the Walamo, racially and linguistically, are some minor groups living to the west of Lake Abbaya and the Malo, Uba and Gofa in the hill country in the north of the province of Gamu-Gofa. East of Lake Abbaya are the Jamjatu, a more primitive people who are more pastoral than agricultural. Akin to them are the Badditu, east of Lake Chamo, but they are good agriculturists, as are also the Bambala in the hills south-east of Lake Chamo.

The Galla (Oromo) are late immigrants into the country. Their origin is somewhat uncertain, but they began to push in from the south in the 16th century and are now settled in many parts of the country. Mostly an agricultural people, they have reached a higher standard of civilization than the Somalis and the Danakils. They are erroneously represented as divided into six main groups; but they are of the same tribal stock, their customs varying according to the locality in which they live.

The Somalis, who occupy the semi-desert country from the border of French Somaliland southwards, are preponderantly Moslem by religion. Because of the geography of the terrain which they have traditionally inhabited, these people are principally pastoral; and because of the desire to graze and water their camels, sheep and goats, keep moving constantly from district to district. Due to this movement, they are called nomads, but since the territory over which they move is almost unchanging, they should be correctly termed pastoral. Today they are attracted by the more fertile country in the Ethiopian massif; they tend to spread westwards into the southern parts of Ethiopia. The Danakils occupy the lowlying country beneath the eastern escarpment of the Ethiopian plateau. Predominantly Moslem in faith, they are divided into two main divisions—the Assaimara and Adoimara, with many other subdivisions or clans. So far as community union is concerned

the Aussa claims leadership. It is concurrently reported that some of them, like those who occupy the Awash valley go in for agriculture, but that the majority of the Danakil people are pastoral.

The Shanquillas live on the Sudanese slope and in the south-west corner of Ethiopia with a few outlying tribes spaced out along the south. They are mainly pagan, except for the Berat and the Adone who are Moslem in faith. Principally hunters, these people follow cultivation only for community supply. Some of them have developed considerable skill in handcrafts.

A patent peculiarity in the description of the population of Africa has been and still is the emphasis on the multiplicity of tribes. Any look into the population pattern of other continents will reveal a keen similarity. The important factor, however, is that this diversity in others has been exploited to project the richness of the ultimate culture which it provides. For the Ethiopians this tribal diversity is of the essence, since these people have for centuries had to lead a civilized existence, each, in its own way, has had tremendous contributions to make to the culture pattern of the country. True, from the standpoint of practical politics and mainly from the drive which has come with western civilization towards national unity, diversity of aims, cultures, mores and what have you, does not seem to make for strength. Africa and Asia have existed for centuries with these divisions, and their contribution to present day civilization cannot be challenged. In Ethiopia, and especially in the first half of this century, a common denominator has been found, and the desired unity of aims and purposes on a national level has made remarkable strides. His Imperial Majesty, following the blueprint laid down by Menelik II in unifying the country, has provided and is providing both the physical and spiritual means to make these tribal diversities redound to a rich and integrated unity.

Tribal diversity must necessarily reflect language diversity. It is therefore natural to expect that in Ethiopia many languages and dialects are spoken. In this first half of the 20th century, however, there has been marked progress in unifying the country through language. Today, Amharic is the official language of the country; English is recognized as the second, and as represented by size of community and tribal affinity, there are others. A noteworthy peculiarity about Ethiopia is that this diversity in tongues has made the majority of the

people very apt in mastering languages. In the political evolution of the country since the veil of isolationism was pierced in the end of the nineteenth century, many foreign influences have fought for mastery in the land of Theodore. From these the most influential are: French, Italian, Arabic and now by imperial fiat, English. Through the schools Amharic is fast becoming the *lingua franca* of the country, Italy during her occupation of the land having done very much to suppress it and to make Italian serve this purpose. The result is that a large percentage of the Ethiopian people speak and/or understand Italian. In the earlier schools of a secular nature, French was taught, so that even today, the educated class of the preceding generation use that language to very good advantage.

The indigenous languages spoken in Ethiopia fall into four main groups: The Semitic, the Cushitic, the Hamitic and the Shanquilla. It will require considerable time and scholarship in the field of research to make a philological study of these lingual groups. With Amharic and English as vehicles, this work may creditably occupy the time and energies of academies and researchists. It must be borne in mind, however, that the survival of the many languages and dialects in Ethiopia is an indication of the strength of the communities which today form integral parts of the Ethiopian nation. Manuscripts of antiquity are extant to show that the art of civilization was strong for many centuries and that the impact of dominant cultures was never strong enough to obliterate the ancient methods of the transmission of ideas.

The language of the Semitic immigrants survives in "Geeze," the liturgical language of the Ethiopian Church, though it is no longer spoken. Derived from it are Amharic, written and spoken with provincial differences, now the official language of the nation, and Tigrynia, written and spoken in Tigre. (Tigrynia must not be confused with Tigre, the name of another derivative of "Geeze" spoken in Eritrea.) Strangely, while the vocabulary of these languages is mainly Semitic, the syntax of Amharic differs considerably from that of the Semitic languages—added proof of the fact that the people who preserved the Amharic tongue made their own contribution in fashioning a lingual medium of their own choosing. The script used is developed from ancient Sabaean characters, is written from left to right and is syllabic in principle. There are thirty-four basic characters each with a multiple of seven indicating the different vowel sounds and a fair

number of diphthongs. Somewhat Semitic in character is Harari, spoken in Harar and Gurage which includes many widely varying dialects.

The languages of the Cushite peoples in Ethiopia have been untouched by Semitic influence and remain purely Hamitic in character. They may be divided into the Agau group and the southern group. The languages of the Agau and Falasha, and the parts of the country where they are spoken are–Kamir, in Lasta and Wag; Kamta in North Lasta; Kaila, North of Dambiya; Quiant, in Dambiya; Qwara, in the district of that name; Awiya, in Agaumdir; and Damotynya in Damot. Of the southern group the main languages are Kaficho, spoken in Kafa, to which the language of Janjiro and Kulo are akin; Walamo, spoken also by the tribes west of Lake Abbaya, with which the languages of Malo, Uba and Gofa are also connected; Kambata and Sidamo spoken by the Jamjamtu and Badditu.

Of the Hamitic group, the following are the three important languages: Galla–this language is widely diffused over Ethiopia, but is very homogeneous; Somali—spoken by all the Somali tribes, which has been greatly influenced by Arabic, possesses several of the distinctive Arabic sounds as well as many Arabic words, and has many dialectical differences, Danakil—used throughout the whole Danakil country, which also includes many Arabic words. Of the Shanquilla group there are as many languages as the divisions of the tribe.

The Ethiopian by custom is a prolific meat eater and is classed with other Eastern peoples as an excellent epicure. It is not unusual, in an ordinary meal, to find meat prepared in different ways in the national dish called *watt*. At a banquet, one can be sure to find so many varieties of this dish to make the uninitiated confused as to choice. This *watt* is a highly seasoned sauce made with meat, butter, and pepper spices (berberre) which, in its taste, approximates favourite Texan *chile con carne*. *Watt* is usually served with the native bread made from the finest grained cereal of the world called *teff* which is ground and fermented before roasting on a flat iron plate. To make this bread is a very laborious process and, it is the tradition that while men might cook, the task of making this bread, called *injera* is the singular province of women. Wheat bread is made of the whole wheat and not always with leaven, mostly on festal occasions or for banquets.

Vegetables of almost every variety abound in Ethiopia, or those

which are not as yet introduced can grow on account of the variety of soil, temperature and general fertility. Yet, it could not be said that the average Ethiopian family likes to eat much of them. It must be noted, however, that financial and social status, as in all countries, plays its part in the nature and content of the family fare. The variety of vegetables generally eaten consists of a few well-known species, such as pumpkin, onions, cabbage, tomatoes, squashes, peas and lentils, egg-plant, lettuce, potatoes, both sweet and Irish, etc. The peasant class, by tradition as well as by choice, prefer the national dish of *injera and watt*. Ethiopians are great grain eaters, teff, barley, oats, durrah, wheat, corn or maize forming the basic kinds used.

As related in other parts of this book, the tribal divisions in the country are somewhat pronounced. This diversity does not only influence greatly the lingual customs of the people, but has its effects also on the selection as well as the preparation of their meals. Some of these people, while they do not care for milk as a diet, are inordinate eaters of beef, butter and cheese. Religion also plays a definite part in the ordering and the preparation of the family menu. For instance, to the extent that the person or family is orthodox in belief, the Moslems would not eat meat butchered by the Christian or vice versa. On the feast and fast days such believers hew strictly to the line prescribed by their faith. It cannot be maintained, however, that there is any fanaticism so far as these observances are concerned, but I have seen with my own eyes that the force of the socio-religious pattern acts as a restraint in their dietetic habits.

Significant and interesting is the period of abstinence of both the Orthodox Ethiopian Christian as well as the Moslem. The Ethiopian Church observes rigid periods of abstinence, and especially during the Lenten season, when the faithful fast for fifty-five days. Meat of all kinds, fish, milk and dairy products are not permitted throughout these days. In many cases, medical people have reported that a patient would rather risk his life than partake of these prohibited diets, regardless of the urgency of the medical and health advice. It so happens that those who are in an economic position which permits the substitution of other foods, can stand the stress of this long term of abstinence; but those with less than moderate means suffer great nutritional strain. The Moslems, it is known, have a very long period of abstinence also, about a month, when they are prohibited to eat anything whatsoever

from sunrise to sundown. They, however, eat during the night, thus avoiding the adverse nutritional lag experienced by the Christians.

As is customary in all lands, the Ethiopians have their form of indigenous drinks, some alcoholic and others non-alcoholic. Famous among these are the *tejj* and *the talla*. Both of these are of some potency, the former more like a wine, the latter like beer. For the manufacture of the tejj, honey is used with a shrub called Geisho which, like hops, supplies the energy for fermentation. Talla is made from grain and Geisho, the grain having been parched before used. It is said that talla acts both as an aperitif and as a diuretic, and is served even to the children at meal time. Tejj, after it is brewed, if distilled, makes a very fine wine, something like champagne, and when chilled has been given a fine reputation by foreign visitors. Both of these two beverages are served very lavishly at weddings and other festivals, often long and bumper preparation being made to see that there is enough for all the guests. When serving, the Ethiopian custom dictates that the glass of the guest should never be empty or half full; usually there is someone ever at hand to see that this social rule is not violated.

The foreigner should always watch the other guests when attending Ethiopian social functions. It is established that they are people who know how to enjoy the art of eating. Once, on my first affair, I was so thrilled by the first dish of watt, that I guzzled and soon found that most of the capacity of my stomach was taken up. Then came one dish after another, surfeiting me too soon to get the real enjoyment from the lavish service. Ethiopians have extremely good appetites, and know how to wine and dine in a manner only known to eastern peoples. The host or hostess is usually very distressed if and when guests of this nature keep on refusing the dishes as they are served, and it might be counted as snobbish or even impolite.

A marked change has been registered, however, in the epicurean habits of the Ethiopians since the restoration. Many are more or less orthodox about the strict customs of diet and of the orthodox prohibitions. At parties and function these days, Western dishes and drinks are served with natural ease. The tendency, as in almost every phase of life, is, while not abandoning their indigenous customs, to participate in all western ways suitable to their temperament and attuned to advancement. The visible inroads of occidental cultures are not unex-

pected, for, since 1890, Ethiopia and Ethiopians sought after the contacts. The urge to greater participation in world political life finds its counterpart in that for like participation in the cultural and commercial. Although Ethiopian nationals are only permitted to travel for business and other temporary purposes and not for permanent outside residence, there has been a rapid and growing exchange with people of foreign lands; Ethiopian students have been going abroad for over thirty years in appreciable numbers; European and other western influences have been definitely encouraged in their social outlook. The dominant stream of Ethiopian society is really cosmopolitan.

With these influences at work, there is continuous evolution towards a society African in nature, but Western in tendency. The pattern of dress of the people is experiencing daily transformation. The original costumes of both male and female, a growth of experience and circumstance, are simple and distinctive. The most characteristic feminine attire consists of a long flowing wide-skirted one-piece garment, tight-fitting at the waist, with long sleeves, and superimposed with a shawl-like wrap (kurtah) draped around the shoulders and sometimes over the head with the demure effect of eastern reserve. For the men, they are usually dressed in a pair of jodhpurs or pants tight-fitting from the knee downwards, fuller from the waist to the knee, with a shirt blouse, of unusual length slit at both sides, with long sleeves, buttoned in front from neck to waist. They, like the women, wear the thin drape around the shoulders (kurtah), all giving a distinctive Ethiopian effect. Leather having been known for time immemorial, the proverbial sandals are worn in all classes of society, the poorer classes going without them.

The visible effect of modernization on the mode of dress of the Ethiopian is even more pronounced than in other fields. From observation it has been seen that from 1944 to 1950, the idea of wearing western clothes has permeated the whole country. There is no section of the country today where persons are not found wearing some part of the style in vogue in Europe or America. In most districts the peasant classes can be found wearing a mixture of both their native costume and part of that borrowed from foreign lands. In the capital and the larger provincial centers the evidence of this change is very much greater. On the plateau, because of the climate, most anything in this line could be comfortably worn, and the cosmopolitan influence has

made it almost universal that people in business and official capacity are today dressed like those in New York, Paris or London.

This tendency became so strong that it attracted the notice of His Imperial Majesty. On Easter of 1948, he advised the people of the necessity of preserving their national and hereditary habit. He cautioned that although Ethiopia is endeavoring to open its doors to the newer ways of modern day life and living, it is of the utmost importance to preserve those customs which were handed down to the present generation by its forebears, that with a grafting of cultures, yet a better will evolve, and that the strength of a nation and people can only be realized when it builds on the sound and deep rocks of its past. Accordingly, with Their Imperial Majesties as exemplars, each festive occasion finds Ethiopian officialdom, along with the masses, wearing the national dress.

Ethiopia being still of an agrarian economy, the masses of people live close to the soil. A fallacy which is usually indulged in is to take the life of Addis Ababa as typical of that of the whole country. It must be recognized that the main strength of foreign contact is felt in the capital: as reported, the foreign population of that city is approximately 10,000. This, more than anything else, makes Addis Ababa an area, not only urban, but vastly different in respect to living from the vast countryside of the country. The majority of dwellers in the capital is engaged in trades and professions which exist in scarcity in the provincial towns and even less in the rural districts which constitute the bulk of the country.

In Addis Ababa, all the amenities of a modern city are within easy reach. In the rural areas this does not so readily obtain, and life therein is of a more rustic complexion. Adequate light and electric power, proper sanitary conditions, protected water supply, paved streets, ready access to foreign and local merchandise, modern houses for living and for business, fairly decent transport and communications facilities, many hospitals, schools, headquarters of the Central Administration, press, radio, and other modern facilities have their fountain head in Addis Ababa. In the provincial capitals, they exist to a limited degree, diminishing as the rich hinterland is reached. This feature is true of most countries, a fact which dictates the rhythm of life between urban and rural areas.

In this way wage earning people are more abundant in Addis

Ababa; the majority of persons in the rural areas are peasant farmers owning the land that they work, or are tenant farmers working on the lands of large land owners. The wants of the urban population are more and varied, while those of the rural are less and most easily satisfied by the extent of the community production. The greatest influence in the economic and social change of the people who live in the interior is the schools which are today found in almost every crevice of the country. Already, through the educational program, crafts are bettered and extended, and methods of cultivation are experiencing the impact of modern know-how. The building and maintenance of roads have begun to influence in a noticeable manner the economic and cultural contact between province and province. With the reunion of Eritrea to Ethiopia, this process of more effective and practical communion will increase the contacts between the provinces and between Ethiopia and the outside world. With area barriers to the flow of trade removed, area barriers to cultural and social communion will also naturally diminish. All these will have a definite bearing on the life of every living Ethiopian.

As he is today, however, the Ethiopian is a person of a mien distinctly his own. All Ethiopians are in the main individualists, and in that country, nationalism of the sort seen in other parts of the world becomes only visible in case of attack from the outside. In my nearly seven years of stay in Ethiopia, having had the good fortune to visit several sections, I have never been struck by any overt expression on the part of Ethiopians which could fit into the slogan, "Ethiopia for Ethiopians." Probably the fact that Ethiopia has always remained free, with the exception of the interruption of the Italian invasion of five years, for these thousands of years, has made it an accepted fact that their nationalism is an irrevocable *fait accompli.* It might also be that the competitive spiral as to jobs and opportunities has not as yet begun to rise, or that the Ethiopian feels that as yet he is not sure of his ability to manage, in a manner unaided, the overall stations in the country's vast development program. Be that as it may, in Ethiopia today, the people react to other nationalities with a deference, often mistaken for credulity.

He is courteous and hospitable to his guests, and takes particular pride in making them feel in every turn at home. He is of a sober nature in times of peace; yet a man fanatic in the defence of his

hearth and home, if and when attacked. The average Ethiopian puts chastity on a very high pedestal, he, by tradition, not wanting his women to become too far involved in public life. She shares the great responsibility for the home, doing in many cases the hard chores therein and taking care of the children, but must fight for every inch of ground to be permitted to officiate in public. There are, however, visible signs of her emancipation from this status, as a result of education and world contacts.

The social strata, regardless of tribal affiliation, are very evident in all classes of Ethiopian society. In times past these social cleavages were even more rigid than today, and the coming generation, because of the influence of the public school system, seems inclined to loosen them somewhat. It is very common to have one ask "who is his father," when any Ethiopian is introduced—a natural consequence of a society for centuries grounded in nobility and aristocracy as leading estates. The story is told by some high school pupils of the Haile Selassie First Secondary School, that His Majesty the Emperor's youngest son Prince Sahle Selassie when attending there was treated by his classmates in princely fashion. One day, on an informal visit, His Imperial Majesty sought to make them stop their cajoling of the Prince, and told them that he should be accepted and treated just as one of the students and not as a prince. Indeed, the democratic influence is also impinging on the social pattern, so that even today, men are in lofty positions of trust who do not boast of aristocratic ancestry. More and more the right to positions of high authority is gauged by merit than by social status.

A word about Ethiopian woman and womanhood is all that can be attempted in a work of this nature. This is an extensive and absorbing study which should engage the exclusive attention of someone better suited to the task. Naturally, there are many angles from which the woman of any particular national aggregate could be viewed. My observation has divulged, however, that Ethiopian women are, for the most part, very beautiful specimens of femininity as approached from western standards. Their average height is generally not too tall, they vary in complexion from very bright to very dark color, and it is correct to say that for a color scheme, a gathering of Ethiopian women would not be a bit different to that of one in the sections of America predominantly Afro-American. In features, they are invariably

of high forehead with noses varying from aquiline to flat, predominantly oval of face and most feminine in gait and physique. A recent visitor to the land of Queen Sheba told me that he was really pleasantly surprised to see the Ethiopian women at a dinner given in his honor; how beautiful are they, and without "war paint!" They have lovely skins, probably attributable to their food, periodic abstinence and the climate.

For facial expression these women are sources of excellent delight. It is known that so far as their teeth are concerned, dentists do not reap a ready harvest. With generally white teeth, large luminous eyes of a rare liquid expression, plenty of strong hair, the woman's smile is most bewitching. Very shy by tradition, in the presence of her male companion it makes him feel that he is master of all he surveys. It is probably true that most of the women of the leisure class of the outgoing generation, are more on the obese side, it not being unusual to see some of excessive avoirdupois. From what I have seen, at the present age, the emphasis is definitely not on curves, but on lines, and the younger set is seeing to the fact that their weight is kept within the limit of the current vogue. Ethiopian women, the majority of them, take care personally of their beauty culture. In this regard there are only a few emporiums in the beauty culture business. Their hair-do is very spectacular; and, lo, I have found some of the current fascinating styles in the United States, facsimiles of some of those worn in Addis Ababa by the Ethiopian well-dressed woman!

A large number of them, especially in Addis Ababa and the larger towns, prefer western dress. The middy blouse provides the uniforms of the girls in the girls' schools, or dresses made on the western order in drill and other materials. Ethiopian girl students are now permitted to travel to foreign countries for study and away from their parents. Sewing classes on the Singer model are found in schools where girls enroll, and the Girls Guide organization has come to stay among the Ethiopian women of the future. The nurses' training schools, the commercial school and business offices are now reaching out and finding young women to participate in their activities. In the teaching field, more and more women are qualifying and taking jobs. A significant fact in this direction is that for the first time in the recent history of Ethiopia, there is a woman director of a large girls' school in the capital. This person is Woizero Senadu Gabru, trained in Europe,

and the daughter of the late Kantiba Gabru, who served his country in many fields. Ethiopia now boasts of two trained nurses, the first of them, Woizero Meheret Menameno, trained in Palestine and the United Kingdom. In the field of nursing, the lamented Princess Tsahai, daughter of Their Imperial Majesties, took the lead; but death claimed her as soon as she began to administer to the needs of her country. Today, the Princess Tsahai Memorial Hospital stands as a monument to her pioneering spirit, while several clinics are dedicated to her memory.

Fortunately or unfortunately, Ethiopian society is definitely eastern in character. Women in general, therefore, are trained from their childhood to efface themselves in public in deference to their males. This has conditioned each to accept a lesser role in the scales of public mention. She therefore suffers a handicap in enjoying as freely as her sisters in the west the station of equal social and civic partnership. The same inhibition has worked to her disadvantage in the field of education; for it is only in recent years, under the direction of Their Imperial Majesties, that girls share in the national provisions for public education on an equal footing with boys. In the Ethiopian church and in public functions, the code calls for a separation of gentlemen and ladies. And even when western dancing is indulged in, Ethiopian women, after the dance, are seated apart from men. These forms are adhered to in the best of Ethiopian society; but even in this field, the impact of western manners has begun to be felt.

As yet no suffrage movement has begun in Ethiopia, seeking the political emancipation of woman. In the eyes of the law, however, the woman of the country makes up for whatever of other sacrifices she is called on to make because of the social pattern. So far as property and other legal matters pertaining to her rights before the law, the Ethiopian woman suffers no form of injustice. If anything, she has the edge on her male counterpart before the law.

Ethiopian women saw their chance during the Italo-Ethiopian war to go into organization to do something to help their country. This effort aided by Lady Barton, wife of the British Ambassador to the Court of Haile Selassie, became the only women's organization of the country—the Ethiopian Women's Welfare Work Organization. It took the occasion to announce its existence in 1935, to the Women's International Associations of the world, and did great first aid and other

relief work to help the Ethiopian soldier in the battlefield. It worked then in close cooperation with the Red Cross, made bandages and otherwise supplied materials to aid in that work. As may be remembered, Her Imperial Majesty Itegue Menan, the High Patron of the Association, addressed the Women's Association of the world inviting them to use their efforts to help Ethiopia in her defence against the enemy.

After the restoration the Ethiopian Women's Welfare Work Association reinstituted itself and went into the field of education and orphanage work and opened a clinic dedicated to the honor of Princess Tsahai of whom mention is made above. Princess Tsahai had, in her lifetime, inaugurated a program of welfare work, especially dealing with hygiene, and education among women, while she was president of the Association. This plan was put into effect by the Association, and today they are in the forefront of women's activities in the country. The Association maintains close relation with the International Alliance of Women, and its present President is Princess Tanagne Work, eldest daughter of His Majesty the Emperor.

The Ethiopian has a great sense of humor, and his folklore is rich and abundant. It is hardly possible to speak to any man or woman in the country without hearing him clinch the talk with a proverb. He has an uncanny way of putting words to songs to suit any occasion; and when, say at a wedding or other celebration the bards are invited to sing, invariably the host or hostess comes in for a great deal of praise or witticism in the songs that they sing. It would strike one that the Ethiopians believe in hero worship. Time and again, they extol their monarch in their quaint ballads, and martial themes form a substantial part of their repertoire. Being so close to nature, Ethiopian poems, with first place to war and bravery, tell interesting stories of the elements.

So far as Ethiopian music is concerned, it is reported that their harmonies are built around a penta-tonic scale; while the music of the West is diatonic. So far as instruments are concerned, Ethiopians, from their own native genius, have developed several types distinctive in nature, but following the general patterns, especially in the string instruments. In recent years, through the instrumentality of His Excellency Ato Makonnen Habtewold, a national choral group has been formed which provides programs for the radio, with many of their

airs recorded for commercial use. It is not unusual to hear workers singing while they work, which is indicative of their love of song. It has been reported that in this field the Church has done very much since the liturgic music is of very high calibre. Ethiopian music seems to be a field in which some talented musician may delve, for, because of the centuries of unbroken continuity of this nation, it is certain that its music must be rich and original.

In the monasteries of the Ethiopian church, like in other countries, the humanities were studied, recorded and preserved. It seems, however, and this is my belief, that because of language difficulties (these records are in the Geeze language) much of it has not been published for the benefit of the world. In addition, much of the literature of the country has been destroyed by one cause or another, through the shifting of the seat of government, through war and its pillage and through deliberate burning, as during the period of the Moslem penetration in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Of late the Press and Information Department has been encouraging the publication of current materials; and Blatta Herowe, followed by his son, Ato Wolde Guorgis, editor of the current Amharic newspapers in Addis Ababa and others, are compiling a great deal of current literature in the Amharic language. To this must be added the body of poems and dramas written since the restoration, mostly inspired by the struggles of the people against invasion and occupation.

Ethiopian Marriage Customs

II

Although the impact of modernization is working steadily and consistently on all of the mores, customs and traditions of the Ethiopian people, they remain basically indigenous. In comparison with our own, the Ethiopian marriage customs, varying in small particulars from region to region, still possess many legendary trappings. Eastern in their dominant features, striking similarity can be seen with those of parts of India and other sections of Africa outside Ethiopia itself. For instance, parental influence in the choice of the new spouse is predominant; so far as the social norm dictates, the immediate family still exercises its vote and veto as to the new members coming in by way of the marital door. Except when circumstances rule otherwise, paternal au-

thority dominates both the choice as well as the final arrangements of the nuptials.

The initiative is more than not with the father or the male next-of-kin of the youngster, who, by force of custom, must see that at a reasonable age, the eligible parties be married. Invariably it is considered not of the best taste if a young woman waits too long to take a husband; and while not an exact converse, parents and next-of-kin show a great deal of eagerness in this respect with regards to the young men. To what extent child bearing is important in this type of social control is not readily determinable, but it figures largely enough. Many fathers of marriageable sons have time and again expressed themselves in terms of wishing to see them add to the numbers of the family. Wealth and social position, as in other social groups, have their corresponding effect on matches and on marriages, it always remaining constant that paternal duty is to prevent celibacy and encourage marriage.

That Ethiopian society does not look upon spinsters with any degree of charity is borne out by the fact that the older people are sometimes apt to think that such a state in a young woman is the result of some defect, either personal or parental. At an age, fortuitously determined by the tribe, the locality, by religious traditions, severally or jointly, haste has been the rule in getting the young women of the family respectably married. This resulted in child marriages, until a few years ago by imperial decree it was discouraged. This order was sequel to its result on feminist education, which suffered because of the custom of marrying the girls before they could take advantage of the provisions made by the Government for equal educational opportunity regardless of sex. The minimum age for a girl to marry today has been raised to fourteen or fifteen years of age.

Along with the self-effacing custom which controlled the status of the Ethiopian woman went the disparity in her social evolution in terms of the standards known in the west. As a result, the new crop of young men who have been exposed to modern training, has, up to more recent times, found it difficult to meet young women with a fair approximation of the newer culture. This situation has had adverse effect on the social control of having as many of them married in their early manhood. Since this condition only affected the intelligentsia, the degree of celibacy could hardly be noticeable in the general view.

I can remember speaking to one of the unmarried and younger Cabinet members a couple of years ago on the subject. This is paraphrasing what he had to say: "In my present position and stage of intellectual development, I should like very much to get married. I find, however, that many of the young women who would be eligible from the standpoint of age, have not the cultural preparation to offer me the companionship essential to such a union. True enough, the elementary and secondary schools are fashioning young ladies today, but there would be too marked an age discrepancy for me to think of marrying from among these youngsters."

Such a situation, though true of this official and applicable to several others, does not obscure the fact that there has been traditionally a sizeable differential between the ages of most Ethiopian couples. With the pressure which feminist education exerts in this direction, the trend is today toward bringing the parties on a more and more equalized age level. For instance, it was not unusual a few years back for a young man of 25 or 30 to wed a lass between the ages of 12 and 14.

Although the eastern tradition fixes the desire for early marriages, social position, ambition and economics often throw their weight in postponing the event. The correct thing is to make the wedding ceremony lavish beyond the economic and financial ability of the contracting parties. In some cases the debts incurred at the nuptial have taken the newlyweds and their respective families many years to pay up. As a result, I have heard it voiced among some young men in the capital that to conform with this custom of large weddings has often acted as a deterrent to many eligible fellows who would wish to make the step, that they would be considered iconoclasts, if they were to attempt to marry without receptions lavish enough to accommodate all the family, friends and acquaintances of the respective families. I have seen Ethiopian weddings in which the guests numbered several thousands and for which the series of receptions lasted for nearly two months—the bride and groom gracing every one of them either as hosts or as honored guests.

It seems of interest to give a brief sketch of how traditional Ethiopian marriages come about. The family is not only the recognized cell of the society, but, on the basis of heredity and circumstance, is the accepted mark and measure of the social norm. This should not be

taken to mean that it applies primarily to the nobility and the aristocracy; in every level of the nation's social life, individuals are more apt to be known as the son of so-and-so and the grandson of so-and-so. The match between the would-be spouse is usually concocted between the fathers or paternal next-of-kin without the knowledge of the actual parties to the proposed union. The would-be bride, seen and selected, the father of the young man sends a committee of elders to entreat her father to consent to her marriage to the young bachelor. The result may be acceptance or rejection, but, invariably, he answers by saying that he would have to consult the relatives concerned. Here is where social equality plays its most telling role, family elders taking great pride in discussing the family trees and giving their judgment accordingly.

If acceptance is the case, the young man's guardian provides two rings—one for each of the couple. A ceremony is arranged at the home of the young lady when there is feasting and merriment and the rings, tokens of the engagement, are given. At this meeting gifts are given to the parents of the young lady and a date is fixed for the wedding. The engagement can be broken by unforeseen circumstances without any harm done either to the sensibilities or the status of both parties.

Even more important than the giving of the rings is the fact that this is the time that the contractual phase of the marriage is hammered out. Both parties select an equal number of representatives who, with another acting as chairman, go into the material aspects of the proposed contract. Much care is exercised in stating specifically what both parties would bring into the union by way of cattle, and other movable and immovable property. In some cases, it takes the form of bargaining, since social status impinges on the material endowments of the union.

From this confab comes a document signed by the representatives of both parties and the chairman stating in precise terms the mutual offerings of both parties to the marriage. This document forms a major part of the marriage, is really the marriage contract and is the instrument invoked in case of divorce. It is accepted by the society and by the Court and the Church not only as essential to bed and board, but as defining the basis for inheritance and other material settlements in case of future dispute.

As stated by Judge Nathan Marein in his "Summary of the Laws

of Ethiopia," "the estate of each spouse remains separate even after marriage, and therefore the husband has no control or authority over the estate of the wife, and the wife has no control or authority over the estate of the husband. In the event, therefore, of the parties divorcing, irrespective of the grounds of the divorce, the Courts will follow the accepted Ethiopian law or custom and will order, where the custom is that the bride brings a dower into marriage, the return of such dower to the wife. In addition, the Courts will order that any increment in their separate estates acquired since their marriage should be equally divided between the spouses. Any property belonging to either of the spouses before the marriage, goes back in full to such spouse to whom the property belonged before the marriage, and any loss or deterioration in such property is the loss of the spouse concerned." The foregoing excerpt indicates the importance of this part of the engagement which, up to the present, has not been very much modified.

In the first half of the Twentieth Century, that phase of the Ethiopian marriage which deals with matchmaking, particularly in the larger centers has been somewhat modified. The young man may do his own contacting of his future mate. This is done either by letter or by an intermediary, not necessarily his father or paternal next-of-kin. The family, however, is expected to agree to the selection, but the choice is more in agreement with the process used in our own country and in other western lands. His parents may be called upon to finalize the engagement, thus bringing the two families together. There is not as much emphasis on the extent of the dowry as before and the prospective husband is expected to furnish the home.

At the date fixed for the wedding which may be solemnized in the church or done before a magistrate, the elaborate nuptials take place. While the impact of the west has occasioned changes in the dress and the ceremonial, this one thing remains as before—there is a sort of rivalry between the parties so far as the banquets are concerned. Invariably there is a two-way stream of feasting: one on the side of each of the spouses.

Preparation goes on apace at the young lady's home as well as at the home of the bridegroom. Friends and relatives of each are invited separately; oxen are slaughtered; the famous native brew of *tejj* and *talla* flows freely today, as does modern vintage; there are dishes galore,

the proverbial *injera* and *watt* being served profusely and in many varieties; many western dishes go hand-in-hand and the western wedding cake and other toothsome delicacies abound. The itinerant bard, the extemporaneous serenaders, the native dancers and the modern orchestra, all providing strains for Ethiopian and western dances, punctuate the scene. Jollity and merriment mark both theme and mood.

The bridegroom and his party, in the country riding on mules, in the city in long motorcade wend their way to the home of the bride for lunch and to begin the celebration there. The church ceremony, if this be the case, has already been over, one entourage joining the other. After this banquet gets itself spent, the bridegroom takes his bride to his house, the train having doubled, and there, until the small hours of the morning, the finale of the wedding day is reached. Gifts are exchanged in high ceremonial, and in those of the more modern type, dancing is indulged in with the national and western orchestras vying to outdo in entertaining.

The upper class wedding is a variant of those of the masses. In either, the native dancers and entertainers steal the show. In their indigenous dances to the strains of the famed African drums and other distinctive instruments, energy and rhythm accentuate the event. The famous ballads into which are woven witticisms, praise and humorous lines, magnetic to the attention of hosts as well as guests, are given full sway. At distances far removed, one can hear the beating of the toms, hear the shrieking of the joyous women, and know that there is a *sarg*, a wedding feast. Ethiopians have a penchant for hilarity at weddings, and there always can be found an overflow of uninvited guests, servants, entertainers, ready and willing to give the new couple a joyous and heart-warming send-off into the realm of wedlock.

Ethiopia is a country with varying religious customs; in addition, the inhabitants of the country, while all owing allegiance to a singular authority, partake of many tribal skeins. Consequently, in the matter of marriage customs, corresponding differences exist. The part of the subject dealt with in the preceding pages deals with the dominant type and must not be considered as exhausting all the shades of observances which go in to make up the entire marriage pattern. For the Moslems it could be safe to say that their marriage customs follow that of other members of their sect in other lands, probably varying only to time and locale. Those who still live in the twilight of paganism, perforce, follow

again another pattern in this matter of social activity and control. The official Church of the country is the Monophysite branch of Christianity, and so far as their marriage customs go, the tenets of the faith do not countenance divorces.

In the eyes of the Ethiopian Law, therefore, Church marriages, as distinct from civil, cannot be dissolved. The tendency, in these modern times, is to see more civil than church marriages in Ethiopia. As a social institution which comes under the protection of the Law, Ethiopian Courts have to deal with many types of marriages. Civil marriages can be dissolved by the consent or by the will of either spouse. In cases concerning foreigners, the Ethiopian Courts have often been inclined to the view that the law governing divorce of the nationality of the persons involved should be applied. For Mohammedans, the law in Ethiopia gives special privileges by permitting jurisdiction to special Mohammedan Courts to deal with divorces among them by the application of their Religious Law.

It would seem feasible to judge that given the circumstances under which the majority of Ethiopians of former times entered into the marriage contract, given both the method of choice as well as of consummation, divorces, in the light of modern trends, must be many. It is true, however, from my observations that the more recent type of selection and of suitorship must tend to lessen the incidences of divorce among the younger generation. It could be said that the tendency, very evident, of a decrease in church weddings, is an indication that, as in so many other lands, Ethiopians of the Twentieth Century are seeking to liberalize the chances of divorce.

CHAPTER FIVE

Shape of the Course of Events

It is not intended to make an attempt to relate the history of Ethiopia in this book. Such a task will merit the talents of a historian of great patience and erudition. The history of such an ancient nation, often related confusedly by many of those who have essayed to write it, would necessarily be a massive work. Indeed, it would eclipse that of most other nations, since Ethiopia is of such hoary antiquity, partakes of such unbroken continuity and covers, in the course of her existence, such multiplicity of important events that many volumes of imperishable pages would result. For an approach to the subject of the work, however, a brief chapter is included here to focus attention on some of the important movements germane to a proper appraisal of the theme.

The course of Ethiopia's life as a nation and as a people has been greatly influenced by both migration and invasion. In the most early times of the before-Christ era post-dating the flood of Biblical reference, migrants came from Asia at various times to settle in what was commonly known as the country of Ham. The course followed was through South Asia, through Arabia, where they crossed the Red Sea and sought to settle in the continent of Africa. In 1856 B.C. the name Ethiopia was applied to the land and people in question after Ethiopis, one of their kings. It is historically reported that this name Ethiopia at that time covered Nubia, what is known today as Eritrea and Somaliland and the country to the south.

From the development of the ancient culture of the country which today is reflected in the language, customs and mores of the people, two streams of this migration met in Ethiopia—the Semitic and the Hamitic. In Kafa, Kambata and Walamo the inhabitants have remained, despite the penetration of other races, as aboriginal as when the sons of Cush

migrated there. The Shemite or Semitic influence still lives in the language of segments of the population, Geeze, their tongue, being the parent language of Amharic, now the national tongue of the nation. Ethiopians say that the descendants of Shem, then called Ag'azian, took the route of Tigre with the intention of passing through Nubia to reach the extreme north of Africa. The climate being salubrious, they decided to remain and stayed in the region of Tigre.

A war-like people, the Ag'azian fought against the enemies of the country of their adoption and liberated them from the threat of slavery. The term Ag'azian means in Geeze, liberators. The elders of the land today recount the story of Angabos I, the 28th king of the Ag'azian tribe, who reigned for 50 years, 1408-1358 B.C. It is he who founded the Aksumite dynasty in honor of Ethiopis I who was buried there. In his exploits he won great honor in the eyes of the people by slaying a cruel king who had extorted tribute and worship from them. The Ag'azian left an indelible impression and influence on the course of events in the life of Ethiopia. Even today in the ancient ecclesiastical writings can be found the name *Biher Ag'azian* (Land of the Ag'azian) characterizing Ethiopia which did not receive this name until the reign of Ethiopis I.

In the 14th century A.D., the people known as the Gallas began to enter Ethiopia in large numbers. Historians differ in placing the origin of these people as coming either from Arabia or from Persia. Their migration followed a course in the direction of Borona, and it is well established that they came from outside Africa and settled in the country. During the period of the Moslem invasion of the land, these people took advantage of the preoccupation of Atse Libna Dingil, the King who was then fighting with Ahmed Gragn, of passing from the south to the west, entering Wallaga as far as the borders of Gojjam and penetrating northwards into the middle of Wallo, Beghemdir and Shoa without any opposition. They intermarried with the people of these areas, the majority of them accepted Christianity, the religion of the people, and became almost totally assimilated.

One of the answers to the question why the people of Ethiopia are proud and make good soldiers lies in the fact that from the earliest times they have had to rise in their own defense. The whole southern border of the country was enveloped by Moslems since the time that they were called sons of Joktan. It is said that these people were part of the Semitic penetration into Ethiopia; but after centuries of constant

attacks by the Moslems, later accepted the Mohammedan form of religion. By 1312 A.D. the religion of Islam was thoroughly preached along the coast. At that time the expansion of Islam had not yet reached its crest, and new fields for Mohammed were still being conquered. In 1527 Ethiopia was invaded by the Moslems when they rose up to fight against Christian Ethiopia. Ahmed Gragn led the campaign supported by the then powerful Ottoman Empire which thought it a good chance to add Ethiopia to the jewels of the Prophet.

Atse Libna Dingil, the king, sent to Portugal seeking help to defeat the Moslem threat to Christianity in his country. In fact, since he was only 12 years old, his grandmother, Queen Ileni, acting as Regent, made the request on behalf of the government. Because of the delay of assistance from Portugal, Atse Libna Dingil sought to appease Ahmed Gragn by making him governor of Harar. With arms received from the Turkish Government in 1527, Ahmed Gragn sent his men to the attack, and the flood of the religious warfare began. Ahmed Gragn carried on a rampant campaign of the burning of churches and the annihilation of the Christians.

Don Christopher da Gama, the Portuguese Commander, with troops from Portugal in answer to the call for help to stem the tide of Islam against Christian Ethiopia, came after the death of Atse Libna Dingil. His son Galaudeos, however, had taken over the campaign to prevent the country from being overrun by the enemy. While engaged in another front against the followers of Gragn, his mother, Queen Sabla Wangel, joined da Gama with an Ethiopian army under her command in a combined battle against the invaders. On August 30, 1542, the Portuguese Commander was wounded on the field, taken prisoner and put to death by Gragn. The news greatly distressed King Galaudeos who joined the battle against the Moslems, his men killing Ahmed Gragn in battle on February 6, 1543. This episode put an end to the Gragn campaign and King Galaudeos, after peace was re-established, treated the Moslems with unusual clemency. The Gragn visitation lasted for fifteen years, sporadic attempts which were easily put down having followed by lesser leaders.

The preceding paragraphs form a brief sketch to show how the present population pattern of Ethiopia came about. Not only did the migrations and the Gragn penetration determine the rhythm of life of Ethiopia in the middle ages, they have had, ever since that time, important bearing

on the social, cultural and political evolution of the country. The migrants as well as the religious invaders brought with them their own mores and customs, some of them, from an ethnographic standpoint, becoming completely assimilated into the dominant group; others, as is natural, have remained true to their original ways of life; but all enjoy complete freedom of conscience. During the centuries when these tribal skeins were being interwoven into the unified State that Ethiopia is today, the repercussions were felt not only in the life of the national community, but as well in the level of its leadership.

The question is often asked why is there not more left in Ethiopia of the virile and recognized culture of Greater Ethiopia of antiquity today. During the time of Horace, the Greeks, who had commercial and cultural contacts with Ethiopia, called them the "blameless Blacks." It is a matter of record that Ethiopia then was a powerful maritime nation and that its civilization had reached an enviable pitch. It might have been that like all civilizations, they ascend and later descend and decay. It is true, however, when looking for some of the causes of the decline of Ethiopia's civilization, that the energies were dissipated by wars and the fear of wars which in later times were reflected in the opaque isolationism which was Ethiopia's before the beginning of the Twentieth Century.

An example of modern times may go to illustrate what is meant by the above observation. Because of the almost incessant wars fought by the people of this country for survival during the period of such wars, the kings used to commission their trusted military men and as reward for their prowess, bestowed upon them military rank which in peace time carried with it certain definite social privileges. This system resulted in the rise of many chieftains. As time went on, because of the slowness or in many cases lack of communications, among other causes, some of these chieftains became rivals of the centralized authority. Time and again strong kings asserted their authority, and kept the force and power of the kingdom unified. For most of the period which set off the decline, dynasties were challenged by chieftains, and thus authority, so necessary for concerted national action, was precarious. When Galaudeos died, the Turks thought it opportune to attack Ethiopia with the intention of occupying the port of Massawa. Because of the strength of the rule of his grandson, Sartsa Dingil, the Turks were defeated and the port, then known by its true name, Dahomo, was retained. In about

the middle of the 18th century, when the power of the kings was troubled by the chieftains, Dahomo was captured by the Turks.

The last dynasty, known as the Gondar Dynasty, which was instituted by Susinyos, the grandson of Yakob son of Atse Libna Dingil, before the breaking up of Ethiopia into many kingdoms, lasted for 222 years, closing with the reign of Takla Giorgis in 1785. The 68 years which followed is known by the Ethiopians as "Masafint" meaning the era of the Princes. The Gragn penetration had the effect of weakening the authority of the Gondar Dynasty. They proved themselves incapable of restraining it, and for fifteen years the Moslems burnt and devastated the country. At this time, the princes seized fragmentary power and divided the government of the country into many kingdoms. Thus, the time that might have been spent in constructive national development was lost in trying to repel the Moslem invasion and in internecine rivalry among the princes. Ras Ali the chief of the princes was defeated by Atse Teodoros, known as Theodore the Great who, in turn, conquered many others and in 1855, assumed the crown with the title of Emperor. The fragmentary power of the princes collapsed in 1853, and the road was then set for the renaissance of unity of authority in Ethiopia. It would seem that the twelve provinces of present day Ethiopia are the result of the divisions which characterized the era of the Princes.

Emperor Teodoros meant to make the unity complete and sought in 1855 to occupy the Province of Shoa, the seat of the government which was in Ankober, then ruled by King Haile Malakot the son of the famous Sahle Selassie. The descent of King Sahle Selassie is traced from the Ag'azian Dynasty, the family tree including Yakob the son of Libna Dingil directly traceable from Menelik I of the union of the legendary Queen of Sheba and King Solomon. The first treaty of concord and friendship between an Ethiopian king and the British and French Governments was signed by King Sahle Selassie of Shoa.

The trend for re-unifying the nation under one head which was begun by Teodoros was later assumed by Menelik II, known in modern Ethiopian history as the unifier of the realm. On the expedition of Theodore the Great against Shoa in his quest for unity, the king, Haile Malakot, fell ill and died a natural death leaving his son Menelik II at the head of the government. When Shoa capitulated, Theodore the Great took Menelik II back to Gondar which was the seat of his govern-

ment. After the death of Teodoros, Menelik II and Dejasmatch Kassa, who was crowned at Aksum with the title of Yohannes King of Tsion, remained the two contenders to the lofty seat of Emperor of the whole of Ethiopia. Menelik II on his part pressed his purpose for unity by bringing in the peoples to the south, south-east and east of Shoa. King Yohannes, in the meantime, fought to prevent invaders from reducing the territory of the country in the north.

What kept King Yohannes of Tsion busy was the fact that foreign governments began in 1868, to be attracted to the coasts of Ethiopia. This was the time when the Rubatino Steamship Company, under the guise of establishing a coaling station, took possession of Assab. Yohannes resisted with all his might, but Assab in 1869, Massawa and Sahatti in 1885, were taken by Italy after fierce fighting. Yohannes, thought of by the Ethiopians as being one of the bravest of their modern kings, fell in combat against the Dervishes at Metemma at the time that Menelik II was busily engaged in solidifying his administration in the interest of his paramount wish to unify the Kingdom. Italy, capitalizing on the division of authority and the essential preoccupation of both Yohannes and Menelik pressed her advantage and extended her rule to include Asmara. Menelik II was, after the death of Yohannes of Tsion, the undisputed Emperor of the country. His task of reorganization incomplete, he sought to bring peace which was then vital to his program, by making the famous Treaty of Ucciali with Italy guaranteeing the integrity of the rest of his kingdom.

Having come on the scene in the twilight of European expansion into the continent of Africa, and desiring to increase her hold in the Horn, Italy sought to interpret the Treaty of Ucciali to mean that Menelik II had given Ethiopia over to the Italian Government as a protectorate. This Menelik refused to accept. As a sequel to this non-acceptance on the part of the Emperor of Ethiopia, Italy sought by arms to increase her stake in Ethiopian territory. The battle of Adowa was the result and in the first quarter of 1896, the Italians were defeated and the Treaty of Ucciali annulled in the last quarter of the same year. The independence of Ethiopia and the integrity of her territory was therefore recognized by all the world. Adowa put a temporary end to the overt intentions of Italy to carve out Ethiopian territory, but it did not prevent them from future attempts as can be attested by their occupation of Benadir in 1897, later known as Italian Somaliland in 1900, and their unprovoked aggression of 1935.

In the post-Adowa period, Menelik II first strengthened friendly relations with the great powers, neighbours of the realm, and continued to press forward his program of unity and reorganization. Modern reforms were introduced; his authority was recognized throughout the country; the first public school was established by him in 1905; telephone and telegraphic communications were introduced; Christianity was activated; the army was reorganized under a central command; the capital was moved from Entoto to Finfinnie, now known as Addis Ababa; peace in general was restored in the realm and the activities of peaceful progress began. Menelik II drew the blue print for the structure of modern Ethiopia, but did not have the opportunity to see his dream. After his death in 1916, things tended to deteriorate because of the delicacy of the reforms which he had instituted. The system needed time to mature. The first two decades of this century saw Ethiopia seeking, through the thick morass of antiquity, a course on the road to modernity. In the 1920's, by the coming into public life of Prince Ras Tafari, the present Emperor, Haile Selassie First, this way was found, and on the ramparts of the past today Ethiopia is on the upward march to her place among the modern nations of the world.

CHAPTER SIX

Haile Selassie First Takes Over

The historical sketch essayed in the preceding chapter is designed to give an account of what was bequeathed to the present Emperor, during whose reign Ethiopia has climbed to her present position in the comity of nations. None the less admirable is the stage to which the present national organization has come in all phases because of the foresight, the devotion to duty and the high patriotism of Haile Selassie First. People are often prone to be critical of the regime of this reformer and this humanitarian. They are, more than not, very definite as to what should have been done in Ethiopia, and as to what should be done. These can be nothing but theoretical speculations, because progressive and enlightened as is His Imperial Majesty, he knows his people, knows the problems with which he has to deal and knows better than any other living soul the standards possible of achievement in the evolution of his country under his guidance.

From Menelik II to Haile Selassie First spans a mere 40 years; of this, fourteen were years lean in sterling contribution; the rest has seen war and preparation for war. Besides, the geo-politics of Ethiopia in the Horn of Africa is one in which challenges were always present to the independence of the African Kingdom. In the reign of Haile Selassie, Ethiopia faced the greatest threat to her independence and integrity of the 6,000 years of the nation's existence. So far as the sinews for building a stable and progressive State according to his vision, Ethiopia, even in times of peace, faced the stringencies attendant to a land shorn of its natural outlets—men and materials, so vitally necessary to the construction of a modern state, could not flow freely because Ethiopia's seacoasts were for over half a century in the hands of other nations. All this, coupled with the backlog of centuries of primitive isolation, constitute the background against which Ethiopia had to forge ahead in the first half of the twentieth century.

Division was the controlling factor which determined the pattern of the political life of the country for centuries. The kings, preceding Teodoros, were forced by circumstance to move the seat of their governments from place to place. Sometimes this was done in the face of peril and the documents and other accumulated assets of the past had to be abandoned. Some of the conquerors had a delight in burning whatever of the records that were left behind. The only sanctuary of some of the writings, chronicles and laws of the country was the monasteries, often looted, burnt and destroyed by the invaders. The fount of experiences gained over six thousand years of independent existence was therefore lost to those who were pressed into the service of leadership of the country. And so, the literature, arts, and the essence of the culture of a proud people experienced a definite setback at each change of dynasty and each turn of century. Massacres, arson, devastation and displacement were the rule; the observance, an attempt at each ascendancy to salvage whatever could be by the many successors.

The history of Ethiopia shows that 323 kings and monarchs preceded Haile Selassie First. He came at a time when the stage was set for tying together whatever could be salvaged from a rich but perilous past. And since the history of a nation or people is not merely the relating of events, nor the chronology of these from some arbitrary period, but the whole picture, the reign of Haile Selassie cannot be fully appreciated without taking into account the deeds of the present incumbent as they relate to those of the 323 monarchs who preceded him. Each of these has had his share in the making of the present fabric of present day Ethiopia, and each, in his own way, has contributed to the currents of the nation's life. For good or ill, these are the imponderables of human nature, and must each stand in the clear light of the judgment of history and of posterity.

It is no exaggeration to say that in contemplating Ethiopia in the first half of the twentieth century, one is dissecting and delving into the life and leadership of Haile Selassie First. Indeed, as one travels through the uncharted forests of life, as if predestined, some men become pioneers. Their lives, as it were, trace a trail which leads their fellows to transcendent heights. Like a talisman, their works inspire faith, radiate enthusiasm, generate love and affection, allay suffering and anxiety, incite ambition, encourage loyalty and bring hope to those touched by the currents of their being. Since 1916, when as Prince

Regent, His Majesty the Emperor was called to public duty, Haile Selassie has sped like a meteor whose brilliance transfixes our attention and permeates the whole fabric of the life and interests of Ethiopia.

Menelik II is the unifier of the realm; the present monarch is correctly considered the builder of modern Ethiopia. Regent from 1916 to 1930, he began then to acclimatize his country to the ether of modernization. He travelled extensively through the Middle East and Europe and there saw with his own eyes what the pattern for the future of his country should be. Briefly, during the Regency schools were established and hospitals opened in the capital and in the provincial centres; he sent students abroad to study the modern ways of culture and of progress—to England, France, America, Egypt, Greece, Beirut and Syria; he instituted military training on western lines—sending deserving young men to the Military Academy at St. Cyr and starting the military school at Holotta. It was during this period that he secured admission of his country to the League of Nations, in 1923, on which hangs the most dramatic episode in the history of modern Ethiopia. A far cry from the Treaty of concord and friendship between Ethiopia and Britain and France, signed by his great-grandfather Sahle Selassie, by this stroke, Ethiopia became a full-fledged and recognized member of the community of nations.

The expansion of Europe into the regions surrounding Ethiopia which was experienced in full weight in the latter half of the nineteenth century was arrested by Menelik II, both on the military and the diplomatic fronts. It became the duty and the task of Haile Selassie First to contain the further expansion which was designed and launched by Italy in 1935. The progress of Ethiopia under the Regency, stimulated the desire of Italy under Mussolini to move in and conquer the rest of Ethiopia and that quickly. It was the expressed feeling of the Italian dictator and his followers that, given time and the march of progress which was in stride in the African kingdom at that time, the old dream of conquest would have been thwarted. Accordingly, partially in desire to even up the score of defeat suffered at Adowa in 1896, and to check the apparent progress of Ethiopia, Italy capitalized on the weakness of the League of Nations and used the Wal-Wal incident as a pretext for launching unprovoked aggression against the Ethiopian nation. In this debacle, Haile Selassie used all his efforts to secure a negotiated peace; but the conflict which began on October 3, 1935,

brought about the bitterest experience of Ethiopia in the long period of its free existence—Ethiopia was partially occupied by Italy for five years, from 1935 to 1941.

The war was fierce and brutal, for the Italians used poison gas and other sub-human methods to force a victory against the daring warriors of the Ethiopian plateau. It could be vividly recalled how the conscience of the peoples of the world was aroused over the Fascist bludgeoning of the Ethiopian patriot armies by such outlawed means of warfare. For most people, Haile Selassie won his international introduction by his dramatic and human plea before the League of Nations in defence of his nation and the liberty of other small nations. To them, it was a situation charged with pathos, and they have since forgotten that this man, even since then, has been at the helm of his government constructing from the ruins of that war and in the face of stringencies of the world war which followed, a modern State in the continent of Africa.

As important as the campaign itself is the fact that under his leadership the Ethiopian people was welded into an impregnable wall of resistance, and harassed the enemy for the entire period of his occupation. Yet significant is the knowledge that because of this resistance, when the Italian Fascist Government thought the time was opportune to openly join forces with the enemies of democracy in 1940, and the fortunes of war changed, the day was saved for the Allied and Associated Powers so that the Italians and the Nazis were eventually thrown out of Africa and finally defeated. Had the Ethiopian people capitulated to the enemy, His Majesty would not have been able to rally them to the cause when Britain and the Allied and Associated Powers sought to dislodge Mussolini's gang from North Africa. Fighting in the hills behind which their forefathers sought to defend themselves through isolation from European penetration, the patriot bands answered the call of their Emperor and assisted materially in expelling the enemy from their hearth and home.

How the campaign against a prepared enemy, better equipped and armed to the teeth, with Eritrea and Somaliland as bases, fared is a saga, memorable in the history of any nation. His Imperial Majesty, his hands tied behind his back because of the Treaty of Berlin and other reasons beyond his control, worked for peace through the channel of the League of Nations. It was the provisions of the Covenant that the

integrity of its members would be protected against violation. In an abiding faith, the Ethiopian Government and people believed that the League of Nations would have lived up to its high principles. This was not the case. The League failed them. The time lost in dependence on the League of Nations left the Ethiopian Kingdom without even enough small arms for its normal defence. This was fully known by Fascist Italy who bargained on the military insecurity of the nation for their ultimate victory. Negotiations failing, there was nothing left to Haile Selassie than to summon his patriot army in the defence of their homeland. Commanders were appointed and the mostly untrained armies of Ethiopia deployed in the field to meet the onslaught. As Commander-in-Chief of the Ethiopian army, His Imperial Majesty himself joined his troops in the battlefield at the northern front. Through the means of illegal warfare, in addition to over-whelming superiority in modern armaments, fully organized resistance to the enemy was broken with His Majesty the Emperor taking off into voluntary exile in the United Kingdom.

The drama heightened when he was offered personal protection and personal security to throw in the sponge and abandon his people to the Italians. This His Imperial Majesty deprecated and denounced as dishonorable and lacking devotion to the trust which his people reposed in him as their Emperor. His sojourn in Britain strengthened the relationship between Ethiopia and that country, which friendship bore fruit in the fulfilment of his dream and prophecy that he would return to his kingdom. From there he waged the diplomatic offensive which took him to the League of Nations where he made the impassioned plea in the defence of collective security and the rights of small nations.

Menelik II after renouncing the assumed tutelage of Italy, a misunderstanding which grew out of separate interpretations of the text of the Treaty of Ucciali, sent word to the European Powers announcing his ascendancy as Emperor of all Ethiopia. This was against the wishes of the Italian Government which desired to be the boy scout of Ethiopia in introducing her Court to the Nations of the world as a backdoor claim of protector of the African Kingdom. Menelik II knew that he was able to speak for himself and therefore knew no tutor or chaperon. This move, however, was the forerunner of the Coronation of Haile Selassie First and Woizero Menan as Emperor and Empress of Ethiopia on November 2, 1930, fourteen years after the death of Menelik II.

That day, November 2, 1930, is a landmark in the history of modern Ethiopia which marked a new era of the country's social, political and industrial life. With deserving recognition, the representatives of many foreign Powers were present to pay their tribute and to witness the coronation of Their Imperial Majesties, thus setting their stamp on the continuation of a long and unbroken line of succession of the anointed and accepted head of the Ethiopian State. The Ethiopian people then, in spontaneous acclaim, bore historic testimony, and since, the main current of their national life has flowed through this leader who has preserved their traditions and led them on the road to twentieth century progress.

As brought out before, Ethiopia in the last three decades of this half century is concurrently the life of Haile Selassie, First Emperor. This is undeniable even from a cursory examination of what has taken place since then. The tide of Ethiopia's national life has been turbulent in many vital respects. While facing aggression, a condition later removed by the liberation through sustained struggle, Ethiopia has passed through the greatest trials that can beset a people. With agencies working then within and since without, the people of this ancient African kingdom have rallied through exacting adventures. Today, they are on the road to building an enduring structure on the ruins left by this cataclysm. What is the reason? Because of Haile Selassie's wise, courageous, humane, progressive and enlightened administration. His people see him indefatigably pursuing with unabated vigor the pattern envisaged for the raising of their standard of life. They see already visibly some of the results, the present reflections of which make them feel certain that with Haile Selassie at the head of the Government, the future of the country is assured, and that their standard of living which is on the upgrade will continue so to be.

Thinking in this vein one is compelled to remember that the period which covers the years from 1930 to the present, more than any other, holds the most critical balance for the country's age-old existence. This period, which saw the culmination of certain events gathering their momentum for over half a century, was perilous in the most frightful sense of the term. It saw the renaissance of a nation fighting against the legacy of cultural, economic and political isolation; the attempt, almost successful, at the suffocation of the State; and its liberation and resurgence after five years of enemy occupation.

Never in the history of man has there been a sovereign who like

Haile Selassie, left his throne under similar circumstances, and returned without any change to his government except those imposed by the sovereign himself. Today, Ethiopia lives again, the flag, the emblem of her national integrity, flies from the same mast. As a monument to the blood and sacrifice of the Ethiopian people, a new and modern state rises up bringing back the sweep and determination of the regeneration embraced before 1935, but with new vigor and under circumstances more conducive to the achievement of a broader horizon.

To attempt a profile, Who is Haile Selassie? He is a man with a set mission. A little over five feet four tall, rather frail in physique, known in common parlance in his country as "JanHoy," now fifty-nine years of age, which cannot be easily discerned even with his perennial beard completely black and free from grey. A trojan for activity, working from early hours of the morning up to late at nights, dreaming, praying and working continuously to fulfill his mission. His activities thus far have already made him an immortal; for, what he has done for his people can only adequately be appraised by history and by posterity. Sensitive, alert and intelligent, a mere glimpse will convince that he is a man of keen understanding with an even keener insight in the currents and influence of world events. Those in closest contact with him swear that it does not take him long to understand men and issues. His broad comprehension in the approach to the manifold problems which confront him from day to day amazes. Haile Selassie is firm yet sympathetic; forceful yet extremely human; just yet forgiving; sovereign yet humble. He combines a simple faith in humanity with the astuteness necessary in a position which calls for the making of far-reaching decisions.

Born in the Province of Harar, His Majesty the Emperor is the son of His Highness Ras Makonnen, trusted diplomat, warrior and special envoy of Menelik II to Europe and other foreign lands. From his earliest years, he showed exceptional gifts, and his parents therefore prepared him meticulously for a future career which they themselves did not dream of. Haile Selassie First was reared within his country under private tutors, engaged abroad to train the youth in the culture and discipline which was the right of a youth of royal descent. It is said that he knows every inch of the ground of his country, because of the fact that when but a boy, he travelled extensively through the countryside and was even then known in an intimate way by the people of all classes.

The exceptional brain power and spiritual magnetism of young

Tafari attracted him to public office when he was a mere youth. He held the office of Governor, Governor-General and adviser to the Imperial Court before circumstances led him to be called to the Regency of the Realm. In all these offices he acquitted himself creditably and with considerable distinction. It is therefore no accident that when the mantle of supreme leadership of his nation and people was thrown on him, he became the most outstanding monarch that ever graced the throne of Ethiopia since the middle ages. Haile Selassie came to the helm at the opportune time. For while European expansion into the continent of Africa was crystallizing, the late-comer, Italy, had in mind and was preparing to thrust the dart of conquest at the heart of the only remaining citadel of African independence in the source of the Nile. At his ascendancy, the historic battle of Adowa was a blot on the escutcheon of the would-be invader. The plan was hatched and the design set to win by war and aggression what Italy failed to gain by diplomatic and economic penetration. Thus, four years after his coronation, Haile Selassie First was faced with the most deadly blow to the centuries-old independence and integrity of his country.

During his Regency, he took advantage of the facilities of travel, visited many Middle East and European countries on what turned out to be a tour of investigation. He was received with appropriate pomp in the leading European capitals, saw in practice the things which he had studied at the feet of his tutors, and made decisions in his mind with regards to the future of his country. The return of His Highness Ras Tafari to Ethiopia was synonymous with the institution of modern reforms, all of them and others extended since he became Emperor in 1930. What keeps him as busy as he is, is the fact, proven beyond doubt by the progress of Ethiopia along these lines, that Haile Selassie First keeps tenaciously to the plan he envisaged since then for the modernization of his country. Today the foundation is solidly laid and with the cooperation of his people, an enduring structure is being built in all fields of the life of a modern state.

What is truly worth noting in this Renaissance of Ethiopia under Haile Selassie is that he is no iconoclast, no revolutionary. His idea is to utilize all that is good and sober in the old and tried customs and traditions of his people mixed with the best examples of modern day civilization to create a happy medium as the pattern which his people should follow. With an abiding faith in the spirit of man, Haile Selassie

has consistently called for the eternal principles of morality and justice. Even after being so desperately jolted by the lack of these principles in the League of Nations which abandoned his country to aggression, His Imperial Majesty never ceased to call nations and individuals alike back to the eternal verities of brotherly love, respect for the rights of others and the ultimate necessity of concord. The atrocities of the invaders and occupiers of Ethiopia from 1935 to 1941, were well known to the world. No one knew and felt them more than Haile Selassie who suffered all the way with his people, then victims of superior force. In 1940, however, when on his way back to his capital on the very eve of the expulsion of the enemy, what was the counsel of His Majesty the Emperor to his people? Spare the lives of the enemy, treat him with humanity, especially protect women, the aged and children, for this is human; to do otherwise would be barbarity. And the humanitarianism of this great ruler has since been exemplified in a more practical manner. Today thousands of Italians, despite their heinous record, live under his rule secure from persecution and enjoying all the amenities guaranteed to other residents in the land.

The humanity of Haile Selassie First is not window dressing. It is his faith. It is a spontaneous expression of his life and of his being. A godly Emperor, his faith in God and devotion to the good has never been abandoned. It is said that His Imperial Majesty never undertakes to do anything, whether in statecraft or in his private dealings without putting the matter up to God. His daily experiences are considered part of a divine mission in which he keeps always an intimate personal relation with Providence. As a father and spouse, His Imperial Majesty combines sincerity and affection in a manner worthy of the praise of all. He is always willing and ready to assuage the lot of the unfortunate, counsel those who seek his high wisdom and he is gracious and generous to his subordinates. He takes inordinate delight in youth and many a young man and woman has been aided and encouraged by his fatherly care. It is no exaggeration to say that all the youth of Ethiopia, regardless of tribe or station, look upon His Imperial Majesty as a king, father and adviser. See him in the class rooms and on the campus; he is always attentive to the plaints of the underprivileged, and demands the same attitude towards them of those in high places in the nation's public life.

The moral strength of Ethiopia in this first half of the twentieth

century receives its source from His Majesty the Emperor. On his ascendancy, the old trappings of isolation were cut and the reactionary elements of the country which brooked no change in their traditional ways were all brought to understand the benefits of the reforms instituted by him. True, in a country of such an ancient and diversified background, there were some individuals who attempted to retard the clock of progress. By his knowledge of men and his firm conviction that what he had in mind for his country was the best course, he was able eventually to make his will the will of the whole people. Today, for instance, those who balked at sending their children to school, have become the pleaders for expansion in the system of education. Parent and child today in all parts of the country have caught the new and universal light of education, and the facilities are bursting in their seams. Haile Selassie First has become the focal point of radiation of this new culture, and this, but brief profile, is intended to afford a faint illustration.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Ethiopia's Twentieth Century Rule

Ethiopia today is a Constitutional Monarchy, the intention of Haile Selassie First to provide a modern constitutional government patterned along the lines of the British system. The governments of most ancient nations do not operate on a written constitution, their laws springing from customs which are incorporated in what is commonly known as an unwritten constitution. The governance of Ethiopia partakes of both aspects of this theory. Ancient Ethiopia derived its laws from a compilation of rules called the "Fetha Negest," the Book of the King. To the present, some of the laws are concurrently based on this old book as well as newer rules of jurisprudence borrowed from other national systems. Many of the elders with whom I have spoken have attested to the fact that the moral and legal codes used up to the reign of Menelik II were very effective and conducive to peace, security and contentment among the people. The Fetha Negest and other customary rules of conduct, some indigenous to subject localities, were the bases for ordered community living. This is evidence that in Ancient and Middle Age Ethiopia there existed a civilization hammered out by the people themselves, and not necessarily receiving its roots from the outside world. Many of the laws of Ethiopia today having to do with such important issues as marriage and the contract and land tenure are relics of the old dispensation.

In the ninth month of the reign of Haile Selassie First, a written constitution became the fundamental law of the land. An anomaly in political science, this constitution was a free-will grant of the Emperor. The rule is that such documents are either wrung from the hands of the head of state or come as a result of a revolution or the founding of a new state. In this instance, the constitution of modern Ethiopia which was proclaimed on the 16th of July, 1931, was granted because

the Emperor wanted his people to share with him the duties and obligations of their own governance. Calling the Princes and the elders of the people together, Haile Selassie First, in a covering declaration, announced that in order to make the rule of law more specific and to assist the people in gaining experience in their active self-government, and also to plant the seeds of democracy this constitution was granted to them by imperial fiat. Since that day, Ethiopia has been and now remains a constitutional Monarchy.

In the articles of the constitution the various arms of the government are elaborated. The government is one of Cabinet supremacy, the cabinet members being appointed by His Imperial Majesty. Together they form what is known as the Ministerial Council (or Council of Ministers). This Council with His Imperial Majesty as formal head is the executive arm of the government. The parliament, bicameral, is the legislative arm, the members of the lower house being elected by indirect ballot from the twelve provinces. The members of the upper house, or Senate, are appointees of the Crown from elders and those who have done outstanding service to their country. The judicial arm is vested in the courts, last resort residing in His Majesty the Emperor, although this latter machinery has been most infrequently invoked.

The Ethiopian Parliament was established pursuant to Article 7 of the Constitution of 1931. When the legislature was a little over three years old, the country began to face the trouble of aggression. Started on its new course, the parliament had not the chance to continue its normal functions—war broke out in October of 1935, and the Ethiopian Parliament had to go into hiding for the duration. After the liberation of Ethiopia from the Italian occupation, by imperial decrees on March 9, 1942, the Ethiopian Parliament was reinstituted. The same decrees called for the election of Deputies and the nomination of Senators.

These decrees set aside the temporary article 32 of the Constitution and called on all persons paying land tax and all notables to vote for candidates for the office of Deputies. In this election, called by me "indirect ballot," each of the provinces is divided into 20 electoral districts, each electing one candidate who is also an elector. These twenty men, good and true, meet together in the capital of the province and themselves elect five of their number as the Deputies to represent the people of the province in the National Parliament. The elections are held in the presence of an ecclesiastical dignitary, under oath and super-

vised by the Secretary of the Governor General of the province and a representative of the Ministry of the Interior. The Deputies hold office for an indefinite term, to be concluded upon each dissolution of Parliament by His Majesty the Emperor. Aided by the local authority and by the Ministry of Pen, the members of the Senate or upper house are appointed by the Emperor, most of them serving for life. Haile Selassie First names the Presidents of both Houses. Article 34 of the Constitution provides that no law shall be put into force without having first been submitted to and discussed by Parliament.

The qualification for voter is the same as that for member of Parliament. One must possess landed property, must be at least 21 years old, must have committed no offense against the State (criminals are barred), must not be insane or senile. All voters are eligible to be chosen as prospective candidates for the office of Deputies. A Constitutional Committee is now studying amendments to the Ethiopian Constitution. Among their assigned tasks is to revise the method of electing members to the Chamber of Deputies, since it is realized that although there have been no census figures, some of the provinces are more populous than others and therefore have larger electorates. To make the representation in the lower house more proportional, ways are being considered to have members chosen on the basis of population. In its preamble the Constitution specifically states that as soon as the people are literate enough to be able to understand men and issues, universal manhood suffrage will become effective—a provision which makes it very important that the educational system progress as speedily as possible.

Legislative bills are presented by the various Ministries first to the Chamber of Deputies, and after vote by the latter to the Senate. In case of disagreement between the two houses on the advisability of passing any law, the bill is again returned to the Chamber of Deputies. If after cross-the-house consultations the tangle still remains, the bill is submitted with views of each house to His Imperial Majesty. In such an eventuality, the Sovereign has the choice of promulgating as law the view of either house or adjourning the matter. After having obtained prior approval of His Majesty the Emperor either house may initiate legislation.

Because of the arrangement of Cabinet supremacy, most bills originate in the Cabinet and are then sent to the lower house for delibera-

tion. This does not include financial bills which can only originate in the Chamber of Deputies. Individual members of the Lower Chamber are not prevented from bringing up bills in their own right; although in practice, the chances of their passing into law at this time, are rather slim.

In the Cabinet, when bills originate there, a majority vote of the Ministers in Council is required to make such bills eligible for consideration of the Parliament. From there, a bill goes to the appropriate Legislative Committee which considers it from the aspect of its legal form, but does little or nothing about its substance, except if it touches such matters as freedom of conscience and other personal freedoms. From the Legislative Committee it goes to the Parliament, is registered according to procedures, after which it receives its first reading. Permanent committees are charged with screening bills. These permanent committees, except the legislative, consist of 5 members and elect their own chairman. They are: Finance, Domestic Affairs, Foreign Affairs, etc. The Legislative committee, however, has nine members–8 and the Vice-President of the Chamber of Deputies. Although these committees are given the specific duties to deal with legislation in conformity with their names, in many instances they have had to work together when bills come up with inter-locking interests.

After the first reading, a bill goes into the proper committee where it is modified or amended and sent back to the Chamber for its second reading. Bills are debated after their second reading with the Deputies registering either their support or their rejection of the committee's recommendation; finally, a decision is reached by a majority vote. It must be observed that copies of all bills are circulated to all members along with the committee's recommendations who study them and prepare their arguments for the debating session. When individual recommendations are made on a bill, they are referred to the appropriate committees which return them to the Parliament attached thereto. After a bill has been discussed and a decision taken by the lower house, it goes to the Senate registration committees which follow a similar routine together with a summary of the findings of the Deputies. The procedure of reading, discussing and voting takes place in the upper house in the same way as in the Chamber of Deputies. If both houses agree on a bill it is then ready to become law and is sent to the Ministry of Pen for His Imperial Majesty's assent and for promulgation. All bills in order to become law must have the imperial assent.

Financial bills originate in the Chamber of Deputies in which the elected representatives of the people are members. The Constitution provides that "the annual budget shall be framed on the basis proposed by the Minister of Finance during the deliberations in the Chamber of Deputies and in the Senate, whose resolutions shall be submitted for the approval of the Emperor." In practice, however, the Chamber of Deputies, as representing the democratic will of the people has grown to be the place where the principal deliberations of financial matters are held.

The two houses of Parliament collaborate in a great measure in making the nation's legislation. Although the upper house may not deliberate on a bill before it reaches the floor of the Chamber of Deputies, the Presidents of both Chambers do consult each other on points germane to good legislation, and thus, except in very few instances, avoid any unnecessary divergence in their combined task. Not only must the Ethiopian Parliament make laws for the proper administration of the country, and keep the interest of both the people and the government in a state of balance, it is also the bridge between the government and the people. The Parliament, in case of conflicts of interests, has invariably dealt with such legislation, in the final analysis, in the interest of the people. The Minister of the Pen is the Liaison Officer between His Imperial Majesty and the Ethiopian Parliament. He has no authority over the deliberations of the latter, nor has any other Minister for that matter, since he is not a member of the legislature and does not enjoy this constitutional privilege.

Members of Parliament receive their compensation from the Civil List and come, in their financial dependence, directly under the control of His Majesty the Emperor. In this way the Parliament is independent of the Ministerial Council, and is therefore free to legislate in the interest of the constituencies. The salaries of the members of Parliament, by an autonomic plan, increase periodically.

In theory and in practice, the constitutional functions of the Ethiopian Parliament are carried on under the guidance of His Majesty the Emperor. It must be considered that supreme authority, in the final analysis, still resides in the hands and the person of the Sovereign. The ultimate responsibility for the safeguard of the interests of the people coinheres in the head of the State, for he has laid down certain specific stipulations when granting the Constitution that its full effect depends on the standard of enlightenment of the people. For these nineteen

years, since the promulgation of the Ethiopian Constitution, the people, both by indirect election of their representatives in the lower chamber of Parliament and by their overt desire to learn more about what these representatives do during the sessions, have moved a great deal forward in making this part of the constitutional provisions realistic. Formerly, the Deputies were selected by the Chieftains in cooperation with the Governors and the Governors-General. Since the liberation in 1941, while the selection of members of the upper house has remained as stated before, those of the Chamber of Deputies are elected by the people through what could be called a limited electorate. In addition, the people are demanding from their representatives during the recess of Parliament to know what they have done throughout the session. In this it may be readily seen that the Ethiopian people are on the road to make the Constitution work and with progressive understanding, universal manhood suffrage will evolve.

In sharing the imperial authority with his people, the Emperor has set the machinery afoot to safeguard their political rights, to afford the government a liberal opportunity to exercise responsibility and to keep the machinery of justice and the law free from the influence and control of both the former. As an essential part of the evolution of complete and free democracy, the constitution stipulates guarantees for the members of Parliament in the exercise of their functions, prohibiting overt interference of the Ministerial Council in the parliamentary process and at the same time delimiting the authority of the Cabinet which is the executive branch of the Government.

The members of the Cabinet are today the appointees of His Imperial Majesty to whom they are responsible. They share with the Emperor the responsibility of administering the Government and head the thirteen Ministries charged with the execution of specified functions. Originally, and in form, the Emperor is the head of the Ministerial Council or the Cabinet; but it became necessary to appoint a Prime Minister who, in his responsibility, is the actual and functioning head of the Cabinet. The Ethiopian Cabinet today consists of thirteen Ministers, one without portfolio, and the Prime Minister. In the British system, the King appoints or calls the leader of the majority party which has been elected to form the government and to head the Cabinet. The British Prime Minister then, is an elected member of the House of Commons, and those selected by him to fill the various cabinet

posts are likewise elected members. This puts positive control of the British Government, both the legislative and the executive arms, in the hands of the electorate. Ethiopians are today looking forward to the time when His Imperial Majesty will appoint Ministers from among the members of the Lower Chamber of Parliament. The Constitutional Committee working on amendments to the Constitution is charged with working out methods whereby the Cabinet members will be chosen in the future from parliamentarians and appointed by the Emperor. His Majesty the Emperor has advised the Cabinet to lead the Ethiopian Parliament on this path, and, as a counterpart of this procedure, the members of the Crown Council will likewise be selected from members of the Senate.

The Ministers' Council, the dominant constitutional agency through which the political administration of the Government is achieved, meets twice weekly except in emergencies when the number of meetings may be increased. The Ministers, political appointees of His Majesty the Emperor, are the executive heads of the Ministries by which the State is governed. They are: The Ministries of Pen, Interior, Finance, War, Agriculture, Commerce and Industry, Education, Justice, Foreign Affairs, Public Health, Public Works and Communications, Post, Telegraph and Telephones. Government policy, after being shaped in the Ministerial Council, is executed by these departments.

Each Ministry usually has a Vice-Minister who shares the responsibility with the Minister and is of cabinet rank. The routine business of the Ministry is carried forward by a Director-General, a Secretary-General, an Accountant and numerous departmental secretaries and sub-directors, each with fragmentary supervisory power right down along the line. Through the Cabinet and in spite of it, His Imperial Majesty keeps his finger on the pulse of the whole administration through consultation with the Ministers and Vice-Ministers. The Council meets within the Imperial Palace compound, and these men keep themselves always on call to the Sovereign. It is not at all unusual to call on the Minister or Vice-Minister of any Ministry and to be told that he has gone to the "Gebbi" which is the Amharic term for the Imperial Palace.

Ethiopia has a device in her government called the Crown Council. This body of men consisting of elder statesmen and Princes are advisers to the Crown. The Crown Council has no constitutional status, but

since they advise the Emperor who has infinite respect for their judgment, they wield influence on all phases of the political life of the country. This machinery might have had its roots in the past; for it must be remembered that in the middle of the nineteenth century when Teodoros the Great thought of unifying the country, and up to Menelik II who pressed forward the unification, Ethiopia consisted of kingdoms ruled by the Princes. It fell to the task of Haile Selassie First to coordinate the various factions which resulted from this prior fragmentary rule. The diversity had to be welded together into a representative national and political unit. The Crown Council, consisting as it does of Princes and elder statesmen, is the agency in which active participants of the now absorbed royal lineages can lend their advice in the over-all interest of the government of the country. This set-up is evidence of the fact that "New Ethiopia" is bent on using the best from both the past and the present in weaving the pattern of her life. The present members of the Crown Council are: His Imperial Highness the Crown Prince; His Eminence Abuna Basilios, Primate of the Ethiopian Church; His Highness Ras Kassa; His Highness Ras Seyoun; His Excellency Ras Hailu Balau; His Excellency Ras Abbebe Aragai; His Excellency Bitwoded Makonnen Endalkatchew; His Excellency Tsahafi Taezas Haile and His Excellency Dejasmatch Amdie.

The nature of the Ethiopian Government is unitarian although it would seem, from the division of the country into twelve provinces, that a federal set-up is the case. The political history of the country, however, explains why it is a central government and not federal. The method of centralization or what is known as unification of the country in the latter half of the nineteenth century was primarily military. The power of the Princes had to be broken, to permit national cohesion. In addition, the federation of a country revolves around proper and effective exercise by the people of their rights and obligations in both the local and the federal spheres. Because of the lack of such a condition, and more so, because the people were not at that time ready to undertake so advanced a theory, it became wise and prudent to bring all the provinces under a centralized authority. This central authority was just about making itself felt throughout the greater part of the realm when Menelik II died in 1916. That it is recognized in every corner of the nation today must be credited to the present regime.

The twelve provinces are governed by local authorities which re-

ceive their power from the Central Government situated in the Capital. The Governors-General are appointees of His Imperial Majesty with the collaboration of the Cabinet, their mandate given under the immediate supervision of the Ministry of Interior. This does not rule out the wishes of the people, which at the present stage co-exist in the anointed person of His Majesty the Emperor. Time and again, provincial officers have been removed by His Imperial Majesty because they did not act in conformity with the wishes of the local inhabitants. Upon the recess of the Parliament annually, the people's representatives in the Lower Chamber are charged to explain to their constituencies what the Government is doing in their interest and to receive and register their protests against laws or administrative acts which seem adverse to their interests. Though this safeguard might appear to be rather weak, it is the trend that is important in a country which for centuries knew nothing but feudalism.

Looking elsewhere, for instance, in the municipalities of the capital towns, where the people's representatives are directly elected to serve them in the municipal councils, the trend towards the fulfillment of the Constitution is definitely evident. In them, the people annually go to the polls and exercise their ballot in selecting men of their choice to run their civic affairs. Two universally accepted reasons undergird this political evolution. They are: 1) Experience is necessary for the effective running of government, and this is the first time in the long history of the country that civilians, unseasoned in the practice of deliberative assemblies have been called upon to lend their weight in the delicate and intricate business of modern government administration (chosen by the people); 2) this has been true of every democratic country; the system of self-government having been a process which always kept pace with the educational development of these countries. This is the official tendency which dominates the Ethiopian Government in this first half of the twentieth century. It is the larger aim in the future life of the government and people of Ethiopia which this beginning presages that should be taken into account in any appraisal of the constitutional position of today. Just as the Constitution was granted without any upsetting of the normal life of the country, Ethiopian statesmen and leaders believe that the fulfillment of this constitution will travel along the road of a peaceful and progressive evolution.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Internal Administration

Complementary to what is known about Ethiopia outside, a knowledge springing from the international contacts of the Government and people, it is of absorbing interest to know what takes place within the country. So far as administration is concerned, the Ministry of the Interior, among the other Ministries carries on a most significant as well as important task. Such items of human and daily interests as Public Security, Local Administration of the twelve provinces, Lands and Mines, Labor and its many ramifications come within the purview of this important Ministry. It is axiomatic, as political scientists have all agreed, that the internal condition of a State controls and influences its external relations. Ethiopia's stability and the high degree of peace and security enjoyed and guaranteed to its people is, therefore, compelling argument that the Ethiopian Ministry of Interior is alert and moving constantly in the direction of progress.

In some countries, public order and public security are wrung from the people by force all along the line. The cycle of forceful persuasion of the people to live together in the interest of the community seems to continue to be endless. In Ethiopia, the people have long since caught the idea of community living. It is part of the historic pattern of their life and they have inherited traditions and institutions from their ancestors which point to this fact. In the chapter of this book that deals with land and land tenure, it is found that the family has ancestrally been accepted as the cell of society. In accepting the newer concept of the rule of law, it is inherently recognized that, as the family must be kept together by certain ties, in the matter of government, these ties are only an extension of those of the family. Internal security, therefore, is confronted with few persistent obstacles, despite the fact of tribal diversity upon which so much stress is often laid.

The administration of the Police, of prisons and the control of aliens and their movement within the country is in the hands of the General Director of Public Security, one of the departments of the Ministry of the Interior. The regular Ethiopian Police is under the command of a Commissioner of Police, Brigadier-General P. N. Banks, with headquarters in the Ministry in Addis Ababa. This Police Force, centrally administered and disciplined, is responsible for the policing of the capital, the provincial towns and the frontier districts. Formerly, local administrations in the provinces and districts of the country were policed by irregulars recruited and administered on the spot. Today, however, with the increase of officer personnel and with the increase of patrolmen, the Police Headquarters in Addis Ababa is in control of the policing of the whole nation.

The whole of the provincial administration receives its authority from the Central Government. Thus, the sectional Police work in conjunction with the local Governors-General and Governors, but their administration moves forward by directives from the Headquarters. Organized on modern lines, in addition to a small number of foreign engagees, a large corps of Ethiopian Police Inspectors and Captains form the leadership of the Force. Ethiopian Police receive their powers through the Police Proclamation of 1942, their ordnance, in the main, imported from foreign countries. In line with the general trend, there are schools and media of instruction carried on continuously to train the Ethiopian Police in the arts of the maintenance of law and order.

In the reorganization of the Police a significant step has been the Police Staff College at Gullale. In the spacious and modernly laid out compound, all the buildings have been renovated, redecorated and equipped to house a student load of 120. Organized some time ago, the College opened its doors in October, 1946, has an enrollment of over eighty regular full-time students, holds classes for active service officers who attend in the mornings for special subjects and evening classes for others who have enrolled for the full-time course on a part-time basis. The qualifications for entrance are a secondary education or its equivalent, good character and an aptitude for training to take on responsibility. It is hoped that from this group of men will come the Police administrators to take full charge of the nation's Police Force.

The professional aim of the College is to make experts of the students in the various fields of crime prevention and detection and the

maintenance of civil peace and security. The courses offered are intensive, and fall among the following heads: Police Peace Service, Criminology Service, Report Writing, Witness and Examination Psychology, General Criminal Psychology, View Points on Criminal Investigation, International Criminal Police Activities, Athletics and Gymnastics, Civilian Air-raid Precautions and Care of the Sick. Appropriate examinations are held after a two-year duration of the course to determine successful absorption of the subjects taught. Those who pass with distinction are selected for a six-month course in special fields leading up to the rank higher than 2nd Lieutenant of Police granted to these cadets on completion of the course at Aba Dina. There is a school for the training of the rank and file known as the Kolfe Police Training School.

The status of crime in Ethiopia, compared with many other countries, is a record of no alarm. Ethiopians, as anyone who visits the country can testify, are not versed in the major crimes known to other countries, even our own United States. In fact, the major crimes such as arson, abduction and felony are rare—the biggest having been organized and effected by foreigners. Since the prevention and detection of crimes is an indispensable duty in the work of the security arm of every government, adequate thought and finances are devoted by the Ethiopian Government to safeguard the rights of the people against those who would violate the law and jeopardize internal security.

Since the 1930's, a modern system of penology has been pursued by the Ethiopian Government, and today there are 12 central prisons and 50 district prisons in the country. The two central prisons in the capital have been modernized with a capacity of 1,800. Incorporating modern views on the subject, gathered from experts called in to advise on this matter, regulations for administration of the country's prisons are being steadily improved. Trades are taught to the inmates and the landscaping and other chores necessary for the maintenance of the prisons form part of the work of those sentenced to labor. Say up to about two years ago, there were still many political prisoners in the central prisons; today, however, and especially through imperial amnesty, this number has been reduced to a mere fraction. The system of corveé, which originally formed part of the detailing of prisoners, has been done away with, and convicts work for the State and not for private individuals. Wardens are carefully selected and trained with the objective of re-

habilitation of prisoners. Capital punishment is still achieved in most parts of Ethiopia by the hangman's rope; but in the capital, electrocution accounts for the major part of those who have been pronounced guilty of offences calling for this type of punishment.

Where foreign residents are concerned, in Ethiopia the law applies with equity. Always welcome into the country and allowed to circulate freely, all they are expected to do is to observe the rules and regulations devised for their registration and movement. Information could be easily obtained from enquiry at the Enquiry Office, Police Headquarters, Addis Ababa where every consideration is readily given. Before starting on his journey, the intending visitor should obtain a visa from the local Ethiopian Diplomatic or Consular Mission, or, if such a representative of the Ethiopian Government does not exist, he should apply for permission to enter the country from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Addis Ababa. Every foreigner is required to register within 30 days of his arrival in Ethiopia.

The survey and registration of lands and the investigation of land disputes reside in the Directorate-General of Lands, a Department in the Ministry of the Interior. Since the liberation (May 5, 1941), a body of men has been trained as surveyors who are responsible for bringing land tenure under a more modern form of administration. While there has been no revolutionary move to change the ancient system of land tenure in Ethiopia, claims to land over the greater part of the country have been registered, this taking the form of a reform of considerable assistance to Government in the administration of what could be considered a very complicated system of land tenure. The ancient system known as 'Rist' which is a form of freehold which may be individual, or vested in a community or group, such as the Church, with the existence of a multitude of rights and privileges, entails tremendous service to be achieved by the Directorate-General of Lands. There are certain restrictions on the disposal of 'Rist' land which amounts to a kind of 'entail'; the rights, privileges and obligations involved are considered as protection against alienation. As explained elsewhere, whether a good or a bad law, it has grown out of custom and tradition that Ethiopian land must not be sold to foreigners. They are permitted to lease; but ownership is restricted to the nationals, except by special assent of His Majesty the Emperor. Mining and other concessions and the registration of agreements of sale or lease of land are also taken care of by this department.

The Ethiopian Government is unitary so far as authority of administration is concerned. In the Ministry of the Interior, under the direction of the Minister and the Vice-Minister is the Director-General of Administrative Services who is responsible for the direction of Provincial Administration. Within the Ministry there are several sections with special functions, to name a few: Personnel, Accounts, Municipal and Township, etc. The disbursement of budgetary allocations for the services falls directly under this department; the largest number of civil servants, outside of military men, are confined to the Ministry of the Interior.

The Central authority radiates through this office to the twelve Provincial Administrations, the twelve Provinces each headed by a Governor-General, assisted by a Director-General and a Secretary-General with accounting and clerical staff. The administrative heads are imperial appointees; but in practice, these men are usually recommended for office through the Council of Ministers. In addition to these high officials, since the complexion of the Provincial Administrations is the same, as well as fragmentary to the Central Administration, lesser officials assigned by the various Ministries function there.

The Governor-General, who is known as the *Taqlai Agara Gazhi* of the Province (Aurajja), exercises general supervision over all officials appointed to his province by the other Ministries and by the departments of the Ministry of Interior. Within the province there are a number of sub-divisions, termed *warada*, each of which is administered by an *Agara Gazhi* or Governor. Each *warada* or sub-division is broken up into a number of districts each administered by a *Mislanye*, or District Governor. This system, it is reported, dates back to 1890, after Menelik II started the unification of the country. The concept, however, is of ancient standing, going as far back as the pre-Christian era.

The machinery of Provincial Government is clearly set forth in the Provincial Regulations which, in addition to outlining the organization, provide for Provincial Councils. These Provincial Councils are composed of senior officials of the Administration, senior representatives of the other Ministries who function there and other local persons of prominence. Their function is primarily to discuss and advise the Governor-General on matters relating to the welfare of the inhabitants and the prosperity of the Province; they sit as a Council three or more times annually. In broad outline, the Provincial Administration under the headship of the Governor-General is responsible for the main-

tenance of public security and the proper administration of justice throughout the Province; for the supervision of tax collection and the expenditure authorized by the Annual Appropriation Proclamation. Only taxes and dues legally fixed by the Government may be levied.

The Governor-General, his assistants and the Council are reflected in the administrative set-up of the other sub-divisions. Their functions are similar on a lower level and they bear the greater share of rural administration. Their work is of enormous importance, especially because of the present status of communications in the country. In fact, their importance can be readily appreciated when it is taken into consideration that the Provincial centres are small in the aggregate, compared with the wide expanse of the country broken up into the districts and villages. Manifestly, when the machinery provided for in the Ethiopian Constitution for manhood suffrage comes into being, these districts and villages would make it very easy for polling on a local as well as national scale.

The structure of Provincial administration seems totally authoritarian, but, it must be considered that in its functions the seed is sown for democratic growth. An important feature of the administrative life of the province is that at least two periods each week are set aside for the hearing by the Governors-General, the Governors and other district heads of petitions and complaints from any member of the general public. Invariably these complaints have influenced the policy of the administration in functioning according to the wishes of the people. In most instances, the people select one of their community to represent them when the grievance is of a community nature. Some individual cases, when found to have community bearing, are often the key to the opening of questions which when remedied bring relief to the whole district, village or province. Once the right of petition is guaranteed, the administration ceases to be completely authoritarian and the germ is there for the advance of the process of government by representation. This paternalistic aspect of the administration must not be confused, because the Ethiopian people, especially in the rural areas, and of the present generation, lack the ability to decide between men and issues. With the mounting response to education, the facilities broadening daily to accommodate more and more young people, the essential rubrics of the democratic evolution envisaged are preserved by the present structure of the Ethiopian Government.

In this first half of the Twentieth Century, Ethiopia presents a picture of a nation thrown back in its progress by the cataclysm of war and its dreadful counterpart, occupation. It is axiomatic and a historical fact that conquerors, especially of the type of Fascist Italy, did not conquer Ethiopian territory to better the condition of the people. Suppression of rights, the transference of land and property from the hands of their former owners, despoliation by force of their intimate and inherent rights, displacement, looting and the many ills which were visited on the people brought to the re-instated Government in 1941 many problems. Among them, the most desperate was that of labor. It became necessary and essential immediately after the liberation to seek methods and means to re-settle those people who were displaced and to re-arrange the entire panorama of civil life.

The Directorate of Labor within the Ministry of the Interior was formed immediately to tackle the job. Their principal task was the re-employment of the unemployed, the direct result of the dislocation of civil life from 1934 to 1941. In addition, when Haile Selassie First returned, there was a world war which did not come to an end until 1945. Thankfully, there was not a concentration of industrial workers, and many Ethiopians returned to their land to seek to sustain life. At that time, however, the problem in the capital and the larger Provincial centres presented, at a rough estimate, about 200,000 unemployed persons. These fell into four categories, of which the largest was the unemployed residue of the thousands of armed patriots who took to the hills and harried the Italians during their occupation and later during the campaign of liberation. Several thousands of these men were absorbed into what was then the Territorials and now the Regular Army. Many thousands still remained scattered about the country, and of these a large number found agricultural employment sufficient to beat starvation. They could not, however, at that time (up to 1944) have been said to be settled in a way commensurate with decent and livable standards.

The second category were the refugees who fled the country during the Italian invasion. Their repatriation posed an enormous problem, for they could not easily find their relatives and had to be absorbed. These and the repatriated prisoners of war, represented a large number of displaced persons. The people who were employed during the Italian regime in various factories and industries constituted a third category.

With the evacuation of the bulk of the Italian civilian population, the majority of these factories and minor industries were closed down, throwing many thousands of Ethiopians out of work. Some Ethiopians were employed as personal servants by the Italians, a fourth category, which suffered unemployment when their employers were expelled.

By all standards, this was a big task for the Directorate of Labor. As normal civilian life was restored, some of them and a very few at the beginning, were re-absorbed into the labor stream. The financial sinews of the new government were not very strong; and the process of re-deploying the displaced labor force presented a major problem. Labor Camps were started pending a Land Settlement Scheme. Some of the arrested industries started rolling; young men were apprenticed to various shops and establishments; destitute juveniles were housed, fed and taught; the Ministry of Education had to provide boarding for most of its pupils in the larger cities and towns. Work had to be found; projects had to be evolved; all this was tackled with vigor and the Directorate of Labor continues to see that distress through unemployment is kept at its lowest level.

At the time of the re-establishment of the Government, in 1941, Public Health was a part of the Ministry of the Interior under one of the Directorates. The United Kingdom Government had granted to Ethiopia a free gift with which to begin the new administration, and in addition, upon treaty terms, had sent British advisers to help in the work. The Friends Ambulance Unit and other philanthropic organizations rendered valuable assistance in the field of medical care and services and some of the medications left behind by the Italians were available for use. So far as medical staff was concerned, two of the three qualified medical men, Dr. Yohannes Ingaida and Dr. Malaku Bayenne died. It was necessary, therefore that foreign practitioners be brought in. This was done, and up to today the country's medical services depend on foreign doctors.

It seems necessary here to give a brief resumé of the picture of the progress of Public Health activities since that time. Frankly, up to the beginning of 1948, when the Department was made a full Ministry, it was feeling its way towards coordinating the services and collecting correct data on health problems, including the location and incidence of various diseases in the different localities. When His Imperial Majesty returned in 1941, the general health and medical facilities of the coun-

try were in a deplorable state. Some of the not very numerous well-equipped hospitals and clinics which existed prior to the Italian invasion had been destroyed or looted more than once by succeeding armies, as well as those built by the Italians during their occupation. The invaders had built many barrack type, temporary and semi-permanent hospital and clinic buildings and supplied them with adequate medical and surgical equipment; but war damage, looting and the transfer of these supplies and equipment to other theatres of war left most of the towns and provinces with inadequate medical facilities. To curb epidemics and to meet emergency medical needs the remaining medical supplies were assigned to the Ethiopian medical authorities and some forty Italian doctors along with twenty nurses and laboratory technicians were allowed to remain in Ethiopia to assist in the task of taking care of an estimated population of fifteen millions.

By February 1945, there were 47 physicians in the whole country, thirty-eight of them then in Government service, seven in private practice and two in mission services. The picture in this important and vital field was really gloomy then, especially as a result of the withdrawal of the Friends' Ambulance Unit which necessitated the closure of some hospitals and clinics until personnel replacements could be secured from abroad. When it proved impossible for the great Allies to spare medical personnel for Ethiopia because of the war emergency, Emperor Haile Selassie despatched a mission early in 1945 to Sweden to procure a selected medical and nursing staff. Between November and December of that year these persons and equipment began to arrive for the Public Health Department. Since the beginning of 1946 there has been a marked and steady improvement in Public Health organization, personnel and hospital rehabilitation.

The Medical Directorate, as it was then called, had a Vice-Minister appointed to head it, who remained under the Minister of the Interior. In 1948, it was elevated by Imperial Decree into a full Ministry. A separate spacious building was acquired and renovation and reconstruction started immediately. Now completed, this building provides adequate office space for the increased staff. It accommodates a lecture hall and a public health library, used at present as a health education centre and a cinema hall, with reception rooms and large storage space.

A few of the projects undertaken and completed in the re-organization of Ethiopia's Public Health institutions and services might here

serve to briefly illustrate, even if very partially, the progress made. Epidemics were controlled by the sending of missions into the provincial and far-off districts of the country to vaccinate against small pox, typhus, etc. Many tons of 10% DDT powder were distributed to the provinces with instructions in Amharic as to its value and use. Hospital and clinic buildings were rehabilitated in all parts of the country. Procurable and essential medical supplies and equipment were purchased and distributed. Provincial medical units under Senior Medical Officers and subordinates were initiated in each province with the organization of epidemiological statistics for the mapping of areas according to their endemic and epidemic periodic disease incidences. Free continuous 24-hour-a-day ambulance and emergency service has been established and maintained in the large cities and towns. Free treatment has been assured for all venereal cases, and booklets in the national tongue for the instruction of the public on personal hygiene with a view of preventing the spread of the disease. Quarantine services, according to international health regulations, have been introduced. The United States pharmacopoeia has been adopted in order to systematize the preparation of drugs in the country. Schools have been instituted to train nurses, dressers, to give refresher courses to existing medical personnel and for the training of pharmacists and laboratory technicians. Regular weekly lectures on the radio in Amharic on popular health education are offered to the public. The efficient control of drugs and beverages, including alcoholic drinks, has been undertaken. The establishment of a Medical School for the training of a limited number of entrants to study the medical profession is in the planning stage.

The education program of the Ministry of Public Health is of significance, if only to indicate the trend and the purpose of the Ethiopian Government to secure by training the necessary personnel. Dressers, Nurses and Sanitary Inspectors training courses in elementary and advanced levels were started at the Tafari Makonnen Hospital Building, at the Headquarters of the Ministry and at the Menelik II Hospital. UNRRA, during the period of its mission in Ethiopia, gave remarkable aid to these projects. Trainees who successfully passed the terminal practical and theoretical tests were advanced in rank and given a certificate which gave in detail the subjects studied and grades attained. Additional standardized training courses are now being given at other hospitals.

The plan for the Medical School is to start with a dozen or two young men, at matriculation standard, to give them a medical course of at least 4 years of theoretical and practical instruction. At the completion of this course, they will be qualified as assistant doctors to be sent to the provinces to work under a senior doctor. After this period they will return to the big hospitals in the capital for advanced studies in preparation for a final examination which will enable them to be accepted as doctors. It is hoped that the most promising of them will be sent abroad for at least a year to specialize in the branches of medicine for which they are best suited. It is the hope of the Ministry of Public Health that by taking about 20 young men every year as new students, it will be able to build a nucleus of medical personnel for the service of the country within the next ten years, by which time it is definitely hoped that the University will be in full swing. Meanwhile, in line with his Imperial Majesty's plan to send deserving youth to study abroad, several are at present pursuing the study of medicine in many foreign lands. The problem of the need for qualified medical personnel is well recognized, and all possible effort is being made to solve it.

Cooperating with the World Health Organization, the Ethiopian Government has sent a few young men to study medicine abroad and a number of girls to be trained as nurses in Uganda.

The Imperial Ethiopian Medical Research Institute operates a chemical section for the analysis of foods, drinks, and water and for the preparation of the various physiological solutions for use in hospitals and clinics. The Bacteriological, Parasitological and Seriological sections do all blood serum, urine and other diagnostic examinations, both pathological and histological. The Veterinary sections prepare small pox and rabies vaccines. The Vaccine Production section of the laboratory maintains the indigenous typhus strains and with it is producing the Cox type of typhus vaccine. The section administers free Yellow Fever, Small Pox, Typhus and Rabies inoculations and vaccinations on prescribed dates twice monthly. Scientific and practical activities are also carried on at the Institute on the epidemiology in Ethiopia of Trachoma, Ankylostomiasis (Hook worm disease), Amoebic and Bacillary dysenteries and Brucellosis. A well-equipped mobile laboratory enables the Institute to perform these scientific researches and to fulfill the requirements of an antiepidemic campaign in the provinces.

The Pharmacological section of the Institute follows researches on

Ethiopian medicinal plants and on drugs traditionally used in Ethiopia for the treatment of some common diseases. From these researches have arisen the production of remedies prepared in the Institute which have won the confidence of the public and are now in great demand. For instance, there are "Tenefuge" prepared from the Ethiopian plant "Ancocco," an anti-Scabies ointment and anti-parasitic oil, effective not only against Scabies but also against certain cutaneous fungi, and against parasitical insects, obtained from "Berberre"; and an anti-helminthic product, provisionally called "Embelina," which is used against certain intestinal worms, such as Trycocephalus and Anguillula, until now very resistant to all the commonly used drugs. Research is being carried on in the distribution and prevalence in the country of the most important diseases affecting the population, and on all their epidemiological causes, such as Malaria, relapsing fever, Onchocerciosis and the ocular filariasis which may produce blindness, and so far only recognized as endemic in areas of Jimma, Kaffa, Gore and Lakempti.

A special branch of the Anti-epidemic Service–the Antimalarial Service—wages a campaign against the mosquito by the spraying of larvicide mixture of 25% Paris Green powder in all identified breeding places of the Anopheles mosquito in the areas of Bishoftu, Mojjo, Awash, Dire Dawa and Jimma. The Medical Research Institute is responsible for the over-all control of the Anopheles mosquito and its breeding places in each locality. However, for economical as well as effective operation, the respective local authorities in Dire Dawa and Jimma supervise the work there. DDT emulsions have been employed against adult mosquitoes which is a method extensively adopted with success in malaria control.

Hospitals and clinics have shown a marked increase in all parts of the country–public health being one of the vital tasks of the Government and people. While in 1945 there were only 24 operating hospitals in Ethiopia, with a capacity of 1,280 beds and 50 clinics, today there are 50 hospitals of varying sizes and with an average aggregate of 5,000 beds and 125 clinics. The really cosmopolitan corps of medical practitioners, recruited from over fifteen countries under the administration of the Ministry of Public Health, care for the health of the estimated fifteen millions of Ethiopians and foreign residents. While it cannot be said that the facilities are adequate, much credit is due to the present régime for providing this basic minimum of medical services and care,

sufficient to the day when, with the advance of education and the mastering of special skills, the maximum provisions will be reached.

Public Health service is always an expensive item in the budget of the average family, in all parts of the world, the cost being borne by the individual or by the Government. Because of the present standard of life of the Ethiopian people, much of the cost of the services is carried by the Government; very many medical institutions have been established and are now maintained by private gifts from the private purse of His Majesty the Emperor, the Empress, members of the imperial family and other distinguished donors. For instance, all paupers, regardless of their diseases, all children of school age, regardless of their diseases, epidemic diseases—typhoid, typhus, measles, small pox, relapsing fever, malarial fevers and meningitis; all venereal diseases amongst the poor and needy population who present themselves to the Public Health institutions were treated, up to very recently, free of charge for supplies and treatment.

On May 17, 1948, the Ethiopian Medical Association was formed as a move on the part of the doctors to advance their profession by co-operation and scientific exchange. The following excerpt from the address of His Excellency Ato Abebe Retta, then Vice-Minister of Public Health, is given to highlight the significance of this body:

"The Ethiopian Government has had for a very long time the desire to see such an organization of Medical Practitioners within the Empire established with the aim to create an organ of exchange of experience and dissemination of knowledge, resulting in the unification of medical ethics and clinical and therapeutical practices within the country.

"It is well known to you, Ladies and Gentlemen, that Ethiopia has medical practitioners of several nationalities, speaking different languages and employing possibly varied systems. It is felt essential that unification should be achieved, not only for the harmony of the practitioners of the medical professions and their assistants, but also for the benefit of the people of the Empire. It is hoped that this kind of organ will be a center of information by means of periodicals and conferences which, in turn, will afford ample opportunity of advancing the research on various ailments of man and animals, as well as bringing into proper medical uses the age-old practised Ethiopian herbs. It is hardly necessary to mention that there are several medical herbs in this country now achieving satisfactory results. It is felt, however, that these

ancient remedies should be subjected to scientific tests and, when scientifically proven to be so efficacious, such herbs be produced on a scale that will not only benefit Ethiopians, but the whole world."

In November of the same year, the First Medical Congress was held in the Province of Harar, timed with the opening of the Makonnon Haile Selassie Hospital. At this Congress these are some of the important subjects discussed on which scientific papers were read: (1) The importance of Schistosomiasis and recommendations for fuller investigation in areas where it is unknown; (2) Research into the possible occurrence of Yellow Fever in any part of Ethiopia in order to determine whether the country should not be still included in the internationally defined endemic area; (3) The extension of research on Brucellosis in both men and animals; (4) The need for an organized Ophthalmological service with a view to the effective treatment of Trachoma in the provinces; (5) The grave and urgent problem of Tuberculosis, with recommendations that, as a short term policy, mass examinations by X-ray and tuberculin testing, to measure the problem accurately, and the provision of adequate funds and accommodations for free treatment be provided. Education, improved housing and nutrition and the opportunity of introducing B.C.G. vaccine as soon as possible, on the long term policy; (6) The value of adequately staffed and properly equipped clinics for ambulatory treatment in Ethiopia, in order to meet the needs of the Service, especially in the provinces.

One of the inevitable results of war is ill-health and disease. Ethiopia sustained two wars from 1935 to 1941, which meant excessive depletion of the physical and psychological energies of the people. Then again, the occupation years were ones of rigid exploitation in which the occupiers sought to drain the country of all its resources. The mental and physical wear and tear at the time of liberation (1941) was enormous. Over fifty thousand Italian settlers were brought into the country, and the normal lag between their entry and the development of adequate food resources necessitated a tightly rationed diet even for these immigrants. The plight of the bulk of the Ethiopian people was one of starvation during those fateful years—malnutrition was rampant.

The program of hospital construction and equipment that antedates the invasion of 1935, and the training of Ethiopian doctors and other medical personnel were in their infancy. This plan was dealt a death blow by the crisis. The Ethiopian Government, therefore, so far as has been

financially possible, and to the extent that war emergency permitted, had to re-inaugurate the program from scratch. The foregoing pages are given to illustrate some of the features of this long-range plan for the health of the people. Today, Ethiopia has not only been progressing rapidly on the course of bringing more and better facilities to the people in this field; she has indicated her desire to participate in the world's struggle against disease and is a member of the World Health Organization which leads the campaign on an international scale.

CHAPTER NINE

Land Tenure

It ought to be interesting to deal for a brief moment on land tenure which in all countries represents an important factor in the social and economic life of the people. Having remained free, and not having been as unfortunate as the other groups of people in the continent who lost to varying degrees their hold on the land, the Ethiopian laws controlling the conveyancing of land and immovable property presents a quaint but interesting picture. Up to the present time, excepting some minor changes in the collection of taxes, land tenure in Ethiopia is governed by the customary rules of many past centuries. One absorbing factor in this relationship is the fact that to the people of this ancient country, land has even a greater significance than in the western world. It is common to meet individuals who own a great deal of land and yet can barely eke out an existence. In their way of thinking, however, such persons are considered by their neighbors as opulent. The mere ownership of a vast patch of ground, whether tilled or untilled, is in many parts of the country, the hall mark of independence and the sign of social recognition. On this account, the ancient laws governing the transfer of immovable property have some facets which are unusual to those obtaining in other parts of the world. In the Constitution promulgated by His Imperial Majesty in 1931, therefore, many of these rules of land tenure have been incorporated.

Conditioned by a constant resistance to invasion, which in terms of the Ethiopian means the taking away of their land, certain legal provisions are preserved which prohibit the land from being transferred to foreigners even by legitimate purchase or other forms of contract. It is the view that the whole of Africa has been taken over or controlled by the foreigner, either through connivance or the many clandestine ways of imperialism. A free transference of the land might induce the for-

eigner to acquire this type of possession and eventually the Ethiopian would be shorn of his right to the territory. In the plainest language Ethiopians in general feel that a technical safeguard of their independence is to prevent the alienation of their landed property.

As a result of this deeply ingrained thought in the minds of the Ethiopian people, the laws reflect the will to keep the ownership of immovable property and especially the land in the hands of the nationals of the country. Thus, in the Constitution, in the Penal Code, by Edicts, Proclamations and General Notices, forms of land tenure and other rights to land are elaborated to conform with this thought. I can remember in my stay in the capital, many foreigners asking me what was my opinion on the law prohibiting the transfer to foreigners of title deeds on land. Many of these persons indicated their desire to buy land and improve it. Some had the financial means to build modern property; and, in Addis Ababa, they have often expressed the wish to assist in the building up of the city if only they could be afforded the privilege of owning the land on which to build. A certain representative of a large British firm said that the beautifying of Addis Ababa could move much more apace if it were not for the stumbling block of the non-ownership by foreigners of the land. He thought that much money could be invested in construction of modern dwellings and industrial buildings, if only this reprehensible law did not obtain. From an investment angle this is true; but the Ethiopian, I have often stated, has the right to regulate the disposal of his property, and this was therefore something about which I could not offer a considered judgment.

So far as title of the Ethiopian himself is concerned, the laws regulating title, inheritance and the rights of disposal are designed to protect the owners against unfair practices and to make sure, in all circumstances, that whatever is done with landed property is known to the Government. Such excerpts as these are found in the laws governing immovable property in Ethiopia: "Except in case of public utility, determined by law, no one shall be entitled to deprive an Ethiopian subject of the movable or landed property which he holds." "A man may not sell, alter, give away or hand over his inherited land unless the transaction is registered by the local judge." "A land owner is a person who is recognized by law as entitled to possess property." These, while guaranteeing to the land owner a deal of legal recognition, are clearly designed to prevent the alienation of the land without the knowledge

of the authorities and to keep the land in the hands of Ethiopian subjects.

The forms of land tenure and other rights in land fall into four categories, not distinctly exclusive, but, nevertheless, applicable in different situations. The first is "Rist" which is the title to land recognized by the Government and by tradition as being vested in an individual or a group or body of persons. The 'Rist'—owner's right to the disposal of the absolute property in the land appears to be, in some circumstances and in some areas, limited by certain conditions. Although the 1931 Constitution lays down that except in cases of public utility determined by law, no one shall be entitled to deprive an Ethiopian subject of the traditional landed property which he holds, it is recognized that the Emperor has a traditional right to deprive him of the land if he commits treason against the State. A land owner may not sell his inherited land without obtaining the consent of his relations and giving them the first refusal of purchase. This applies also to mortgaged land, the relatives having the right to liquidate the debt and to purchase the land themselves to avoid the mortgagee securing possession of it. A land owner who has been absent from his land for a long time and has failed to pay or provide for the payment of the land taxes due on the land may forfeit his title to another occupier who has paid the taxes. In general, the payment of the taxes on a piece of land for three years without objections being raised by another claimant establishes a title to it. In any case, land may not be sold to a foreigner.

The second form of land tenure is known as the 'Gult,' which is the right to own land without paying land tax (gibir) thereon. It is a right which is accorded in lieu of other remuneration to certain persons who perform or are liable to be called upon to perform services to the State. The commonest example of this is in connection with 'madariya' land. 'Madariya' land is granted to soldiers by the Emperor on condition that they come up for military service when called. They do not pay land tax on this land, but they pay tithe (asrat). They cannot alienate the land; nor does the land pass by inheritance to their families. In practice, however, a son is nearly always allowed to keep the land on the father's death so long as he assumes the responsibility of military service when called upon; and in exceptional cases, a daughter is permitted to retain the land and provide a substitute for military duty. Other exam-

ples of land held on terms of personal service of various kinds are 'Warra ganna' and 'Faras madariya.'

'Malkanyinat,' another form of land tenure, is of two kinds. In Amhara districts it is the right to a man who was formerly appointed by the Emperor or Governor to collect taxes in that area. As recompense for performing this duty he was granted a piece of land known as his 'hudad' upon which he paid no tax or tithe. When he died, the 'hudad' as a rule passed to his eldest son, who was called upon to continue his tax-collecting duties. In practice, the 'hudad' tended to increase in size as his eldest son would often carry out Government duties before his father died and be granted a 'hudad' in his own right. Both his father's 'hudad' and his own pass to his eldest son. Now that the tax-collecting responsibilities of the 'malkanyas' are falling into abeyance and taxes are being collected directly by the Central Government, a new situation has arisen. It seems to be generally recognized, however, that the 'malkanyas' should retain their 'hudad' on the same terms as those who own land which is recognized by the Government and by tradition as being vested in the individual or group of persons.

In the areas settled by the Gallas, the second form of the 'Malkanyinat' obtains. When these Galla areas were conquered by Menelik II, he had to provide land for his soldiers, which he did by confiscating three-quarters of the lands belonging to the landed gentry (balabbats) for this purpose. To these soldiers the privileges outlined in the previous paragraph were accorded. As compensation to the landed gentry, Menelik II accorded them certain rights in connection to the one-quarter of the land which they retained. They were exempt from all but a nominal tax and from tithe, and some power of jurisdiction over these holdings was guaranteed to them. They were considered invested with the right of ownership and entitled to other benefits accruing from persons who occupied their land.

'Rist-Gult' the fourth form of ancient land tenure still operative in Ethiopia is the right to collect from land-owners and to retain for one's own personal benefit the land tax (gibir) which would be normally paid to the Government, and to use their personal labor. The Emperor has the prerogative of granting this right; traditionally he has done so to persons who have served him or the State well. 'Rist-Gult' has in particular been granted lavishly to the Church in respect of various properties including those given to the clergy for the service of the Church,

estates given as ecclesiastic fiefs and properties transferred to the Church by officials, ladies and other people with the approval of the Government.

While these general principles of land tenure prevail in all parts of the country, it is worth noting that there is no uniform application because of circumstances peculiar to the various regions. Anent and relative to the unification of the Kingdom, the influence tended to be the bringing of the whole land tenure to conform with that of the Province of Shoa from which the central authority fans out. In Shoa all the land has been measured and registration commenced nearly thirty years ago. Unfortunately many of the registers which were made before the Italian occupation were missing at the liberation in 1941. With registry offices opened now in all the district headquarters of the province, and as landowners registered before the occupation can show proof of their ownership, the land registration of the whole province is today nearly complete. For taxation purposes, however, it is still probable that not much more than half of the land in Shoa pays tax direct to the Government owing to the large amount of exemption through the 'Rist-gult' and 'madariya' holdings. Computing the holdings of the Church, feudal estates of the chiefs and land given for government services of one sort or another, a very sizable part of the land in Shoa does not pay land tax direct to the Government.

The system of land tenure is so well established that the Italians, although they tried, were unable to bring about any changes. In the highlands of Munz and in the valley of the Wanchit there are still lands owned by the original settlers which belong to the families, but otherwise, generally speaking, throughout the province there is individual ownership. Absolute rights of ownership are, however, not as yet fully established, and cases frequently come before the Courts of individuals who claim individual ownership being debarred from selling their land by their relatives.

In the provinces of Wallega, Illubabbor and Arusi the status of the land is not very much different from what obtains in Shoa in general. Although Wallega was not incorporated until the reign of Menelik II, today all the land is measured. Laquemti is the seat of land registration there and all measured lands are recorded. In these three provinces there is not much Church land nor is much of it exempt from taxation by reason of service to the Government.

Before Jimma was brought into the fold by Menelik II there existed in that province a purely feudal system of land tenure. Abba Jiffar the previous conqueror found the land parcelled out in units of 'fachasha,' equal to 50 meters square. The occupiers were under the rule of 'balabbats' or the landed gentry, to whom they paid taxes, and who looked upon the land in their areas as their personal property. Abba Jiffar transformed the landed gentry into government tax collectors, and thus did away with the system of personal fiefs. The system appeared to have been unfair to the peasant cultivator, as the tax took the form of a poll tax from which the landed gentry were exempt. When Menelik II conquered Abba Jiffar, he levied a fixed tribute on the Sultan and allowed him to continue the collection of taxes on the old system. During Haile Selassie's regime, the old arrangement was permitted at first, but has since been changed to conform with Central Government method of land tax. In the district of Gomma land is taxed by proclamation—measured land paying the full ordinary tax and unmeasured land paying half of the regular assessment.

Land measurement which was started by Dejasmatch Balcha was continued by Ras Desta who introduced a consolidated tax assessed at a flat rate of 28 dollars a gasha (a gasha computed variously to be 40-50 square meters). There is a good deal of Government land in this area which was set aside by the old system of exemption for government services. There is also a great amount of unoccupied land which is claimed by various families although uncultivated. The land registers started by Dejasmatch Balcha and Ras Desta were lost; but the present administration has since had most of the land in this region registered.

In the provinces of Gojjam and Gamu-Gofa the land was never measured nor registered. The landowners, predominantly holding the land through heredity, in accordance with the Land Tax Proclamation of 1942, have been ordered to pay half the pre-invasion tax. While very little is known about the system of land tenure which originally obtained in these provinces, the people have complained that the pre-invasion tax was too high, submitted various petitions to the Central Government for redress, this matter constituting one of the problems which the present administration is attempting to solve equitably.

During the Turkish occupation of the province of Harar, the

Harar plateau, including the districts of Harar, Garamulate, Wabarra, Jijjiga and Gursum, were measured in units called 'shibata,' the size of which varied from district to district. The land was left in the hands of the inhabitants, mostly Gallas. When His Highness, Ras Makonnen, Menelik's able soldier, took over the administration there, land was required for the settling of his men and for other administrative purposes. A considerable amount of unoccupied land was utilized for these purposes and he, in addition, sequestered a portion from the landed gentry of each district. These persons were permitted to retain one-quarter of their land and the remaining three-quarters were distributed among the soldiers.

The holdings were given to the soldiers under the 'gabbar' system, that is to say, the soldier (Malkanya) was given, in lieu of pay, several 'gabbars' for his maintenance. This land carried the right of conveyancing, but the Galla owners seldom sold or alienated it. They did, however, frequently leave their lands for years to seek better fortune elsewhere; but when and if they returned, they had the right to the restoration of their lands. During the absence of a 'gabbar' His Highness Ras Makonnen permitted the soldier to make use of the plot but he was bound to return it to the owner if he returned. The same system was maintained by the Italians during the occupation. Today land tax and tithes are paid directly to the Government and the system of payment in kind to the landowner by cultivators is diminishing rapidly.

When the province of Wallo is considered, it includes, besides the district of Wallo, also Yaju, Lasta, Wadila, Dalantta, Dawint, Borana and Saint. The greater part of the population of this area is Galla and predominantly Mohammedan. From early times the feudal chief held most of the land in his own hands and utilized a large portion for the settlement and maintenance of his soldiers. The 'madariya' system therefore, is most prevalent, since the lots were granted to soldiers on condition that they come up for military service when called. The feudal chiefs then, collected tithe and land tax at a flat rate, regardless of the size of the allotment. Today, this tax is levied and collected by the Central Government, the rates having been decided through legislation in the Parliament. Although the particulars are well-known and definitely established, the land in this province is unmeasured, the registry conforming to details gathered in the pre-invasion period. Owner-

ship is vested in the family and the occupier cannot sell the part of the land which he occupies without the consent of his family. He can assign the usufruct of his portion as interest for debt, but cannot mortgage the title that is recognized by the Government. Inheritance is subject to the Islamic law, and the tendency is towards fragmentation of the holdings, i.e., as the years go by, occupiers' allotments are getting smaller and smaller. In conformity with the Land Proclamation of 1942, these lands being unmeasured, pay half of the rate of taxes levied in 1935. In Lasta, Wag, Dalantta, Dawint, Borana and Saint there are considerable 'rist-gult' holdings belonging to the Church and others. The title to the land recognized by the Government and by tradition as vested in the owner rests in the families and conforms to the Proclamation of 1942 in the payment of tax to the Government.

Except for some 20,000 Mohammedans and a small community of Falashas, the population in Beghemdir is Christian and nearly all the land is in private Christian hands. Ownership as recognized by the Government, here also, is vested in the family; and sale of a portion of the family land by its member occupying it is seldom heard of. In any case, such a sale can only be effected with the consent of the family after other members of the family have been given first refusal of purchase. The land can only be disposed of to a Christian. In this province the Church retains benefice for its own use to a very large extent ('rist-gult'). Measurement and registration of the land in Beghemdir has engaged the Department of Lands of the Ministry of the Interior for some time now and taxes which were not paid to the Government since 1934 have been commuted.

The Mohammedan population of this province is mostly settled in Dambiya and Chilga where some generations ago areas were allotted to them on which they paid the ordinary taxes. In Gondar, the capital of Beghemdir, these people acquired land by purchase from the priests, who retained their judicial and other rights. These rights have been subsequently called into question, supported by the fact that the Italians granted to the Mohammedans a large block of land in the town of Gondar for the building of a Mosque and other community buildings.

Formerly, the Falashas, the remnants of a particular Hebraic tribe which occupied territory in Ethiopia, except for a small area granted them by Emperor Fasil upon which they paid tithe, were not allowed

to own land or establish occupancy rights. They were nearly all artisans (workers in iron, weavers, etc.) who used to pay a small rental to the owner for the land where they plied their trade. Recently, however, they have established occupancy rights and pay a trade tax to the Central Government—to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. The Quimant tribe which formerly was subject to certain restrictions, has now been freed from these, and is treated on equality with the Christian landowners.

It is traditional that in the province of Tigre taxation has always been on the old feudal basis of tribute. The tribute paid to the overlord was apportioned amongst the landed gentry, who, in turn, distributed the tax burden—more or less as a poll tax—amongst the occupiers of the land. As in other areas in Ethiopia, ownership of the land is vested in the family, and the restrictions upon sale of the same are as obtain in Beghemdir. There is little or no Government land, and the Church owns a large amount of 'rist-gult,' land from which the taxes are used for furtherance of its activities. The tribute collected in pre-invasion days amounted, it is said, to about $225,000. The Italians, who maintained the same system, estimated a revenue of about $400,000 from this source; but the large increase may have been accounted for by their refusal to acknowledge Church benefices which were deflected into the Government Treasury.

It is probable that total dislocation of the system of land tribute in Tigre will take some time—land tax and tithe being opposed by a certain section of the population. On the other hand, the change was effected in Eritrea in 1888 in a time of national emergency by Ras Alula without difficulty and with the general approval of the people. The Central Government's program to establish as uniform as possible a system of land taxation has been welcomed by the masses, and before long the tribute idea will completely disappear.

The policy of not permitting the alienation of the land in Ethiopia springs from the desire of the people since mediaeval times to see that the foreigner be prevented by a process of economic penetration from taking it away. Nothing less than an ingrained custom and tradition, the owners of the land sought by this means to assure the perpetuity of tenure in the hands of Ethiopians. Founded in these old customs, it has become a written as well as unwritten law to preserve the heritage from the experiences of Africans in other parts of the conti-

nent who are today virtually deprived of their right to the land. As stated above, many foreign investors have complained that this law is a detriment to the extension and the development of trade, and especially the building up of the city of Addis Ababa. While this is true, the condition must be appreciated in the light of the circumstances surrounding the acquisition of landed property in Africa. In this may be also seen the fundamental reason why Ethiopia still remains as an island of freedom in the sea of colonialism. Ethiopians have always been ready to die to protect the land. This they openly say is responsible for their freedom and independence today.

CHAPTER TEN

Agriculture

With an estimated land area of 350,000 square miles, over 50% arable, as an agricultural country Ethiopia has enormous potential. The annual showers, which for centuries have continuously washed the top-soil of the country down the streams bringing the fertile silt to Egypt and the Sudan, seem not to have noticeably impaired the fertility of the arable land. It is said that the depth of the sub-soil is unusual, and even now, crops of unusual strength are produced without the aid of fertilizers. The variety of both soil and temperature makes the country suitable for the production of a large number of different crops. When a full-sized program of scientific agriculture suited to the country is established, Ethiopia will be an important producing country in the interest of the world granary.

Traditionally, Ethiopians have always lived near to the soil. The economy of the country, even today, is geared on its agricultural activity; for, except in the case of a few secondary industries, the bulk of the Government's revenue comes from agriculture. Long sold to the idea of tilling the soil for livelihood, in every part of the country, planting and husbandry provide the basic occupation of the masses. A glance backwards to the beginning of the United States as a rich nation will convince us that whatever be the present huge industrial production we claim today, it all began and is still basically grounded in the use that has been made of the soil. Since the Industrial Revolution, however, many devices have been found to assist nature in making the land yield its maximum to feed mankind. Chemistry and physics have been drafted to assist in this conquest of nature, and instead of a system of extensive cultivation depending merely on the natural process of land rest, as is the case in Ethiopia today, intensive

methods are applied, and the application of fertilizers brought in to secure maximum production.

In this regard, it could be said that Ethiopian agriculture is still in a primitive stage. The peasant farmer is content to use the ox and land rest as aids in assisting his agricultural yields. In this half century, however, much has been done to teach him modern methods of cultivation—an innovation which is accepted with a great deal of skepticism by the small peasant farmer. Three factors may be responsible for this apathy of the Ethiopian farmer in embracing the modern techniques of farming. They are: 1) there is plenty of land, which means the absence of any acute density of population; 2) although the standard of life is rising, it has not reached the pitch where the pressure for increased production is keenly felt; 3) the maximum marketing of agricultural yields has never been sought because, being landlocked, even the minimum agricultural production experiences a hard time in getting to world markets at a price to compete with that of other more favored nations. During the Italian occupation, an attempt was made to make Ethiopia the bread-basket of the conquering nation. Many agricultural concessions were let and the process had begun to use the Ethiopian peasants as cheap labor to bring about intensive cultivation. Italy had ships, ports and the markets; but upon the re-acquisition of the country by the Ethiopians, the old stringency was renewed. During the last World War farmers saw their minimum yields rot on the ground for want of the necessary markets, except for the brief period when the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation bought them at a low price for its overseas markets. In 1943, when there was a grain shortage in the Middle East, Ethiopian produce had a chance to meet that need, and in the tapering off period of the war emergency, some of Ethiopia's grain found a favorable market outside.

With all this, the methods and implements of agricultural production are constantly being improved. As an impetus to this innovation, the Ministry of Agriculture provides modern ploughs, harrows and sowing machines to farmers free of charge with a view to encouraging them to change their farming habits. Cleaning and grading machines have also been introduced for the purpose of preparing crops for the world's competitive markets. Selection of seeds both for the improvement and the diversification of crops have been introduced. It has been realized that in order to make use of the country's agricul-

tural endowment, the primary need was the best crops possible. With all other factors taken into consideration, such as climate, rainfall, moisture, variety of soil, etc., the Ethiopian farmer is getting to realize that methods are very important in securing good yields.

To assist him in this reform, the Ethiopian Government, since 1942, has established eight model farms equipped with selection stations in which adequate seed storage is maintained and demonstrators employed to give information to farmers on this most important subject. Seed growing is an expensive part of general agriculture, and in some countries like those in Europe and America, is a highly specialized undertaking. Fortunately for Ethiopia, with the exception of cotton (Alcalda), tea and a few others which were imported during the Italian occupation, no extensive importation of seeds has yet been undertaken. This does not mean that agricultural production in the country has reached or can reach its peak efficiency without some measure of seed importation. On the other hand it signifies that a rigid program of selection must be followed to use the local stock to the best advantage so as to secure good yields and ensure future seed supply. Government aid is being given in scientific management, care and education through actual demonstration by way of the model farms. In and around them several acres are prepared for the germination of seeds, and practical lessons are given in such subjects as rotation of crops, individual selection and storage of seeds, fertilizers, alternation of crops, resting of acreage, and, where necessary, irrigation and inundation to assist exhausted soil.

As a corollary to the selection and preservation of seeds, large plots are prepared for seed beds on which sowing, proper germination, transplanting, grafting, proper pollination of flowers, natural crossing, the selection of roots, regional adaptation of crops, the prevention of hybrids and the selection and preservation of roots, slips and seeds, and other numerous related fields of seed growing are observed. In every seed station there are machines which are let to farmers to put into practice the demonstrations seen at the stations. In one-crop districts, seeds are distributed to the farmers short of selected seeds in the months of April and May; and in sections which are suitable for alternate crops, these are given according to need.

Continuous experimentation goes on in these stations with a view to determining the best methods of selection and storage of seeds, par-

ticularly with regard to cereals which are subject to storage pests and to temperature and humidity fluctuations. Proper seed drying before storage and chemical treatment of storage houses and containers also form part of the work. A permanent staff of experts is employed and every effort is made to see that the farmer gets all the help needed to improve the agricultural production of the country.

According to climatic and soil conditions, selected seeds are usually sent from one province to another, as at Guder-Ambo where there is large acreage prepared for the cultivation of coffee. Seeds are sent from the Bonga station in Kaffa to the Jimma-Malko station from which they are distributed to many recipients. Through these stations, there is easy transference of seeds from province to province and specialized information as to proper sowing of them to get maximum results. It is believed that certain sections of the country are amply suited to the raising of seeds as an industry. This is a project which has to be approached, however, with great care; as yet no concentration of effort has been made in this direction. From the great deal of experimentation now being carried on in the eight model farms, it is hoped that in time enough information will be gathered to assure a permanent supply of the best seeds. With the accumulated skill of the peasant farmers over a period of years and the training of horticulturists in the Agricultural School, the Ethiopian farmer might well look forward to obtaining the best results in cultivation where the matter of seeds is concerned.

The eight model farms are zoned to feed special sections of the country on the basis of kind of cultivation and the natural quality of soil and climate. For instance, the Holotta Station feeds Addis Ababa, Ambo, and environs. The greatest part of the acreage of this farm is used for vegetables, grain and vines. Wheat, teff, beans and lentils, oil seeds, onions, potatoes and other vegetables are given special attention there. Seeds are stored, classified and distributed to farmers with the necessary information as to types, care and the general management of crops for best results. There is also organized seed selection on a peasant farmer basis under the guidance of the expert at the station. A portion of the best seed crops is saved for the next planting season and laboratory tests are undertaken in the Central Laboratory in Addis Ababa to determine agronomic data for progressive improvement.

In Woliso, sweet potatoes, "Musa Ensette" (a plant looking like the banana which is famous for its fibre) and oil seeds are the basic crops on which most effort is concentrated and the functions of the station are carried out according to the plan for effective improvement. At the Guder farm, in an area specially suited for vines, tropical fruits, pepper and several kinds of cereals, the work is extensive. Proper seeds, transplanting and grafting take a great deal of the effort. Among some of the tropical fruits are oranges, mangoes, peaches, lemons and quince. At Bishoftu, which serves the Addis Ababa-Awash-Arusi area, much activity is carried on in cereal culture and forest nursery. At the Jimma Station which feeds the province of the same name favorable for foreign tropical plants, Gauchuk, cinchona, tea, alaurite for China ink, seeds of which are imported from Java, are the specialties. And so are there stations at Taffi for the Bachu zone, Bonga for the Province of Kaffa, and Borocalla for the Province of Gore.

From 1923 to the present time Ethiopia has strained every endeavor to maintain her place among the nations of the world. This is true, not only in the political phases; but as well in trade. Despite handicaps of the most vital nature—the lack of sea-outlets—Ethiopia's agricultural products continue to find world markets. An excerpt from the statement of the Ethiopian delegation at the FAO Conference held in Washington in November of 1949 may here be used to explain this position:

"The goal of Ethiopia for the coming year is unchanged. It is the unswerving desire and purpose of the Imperial Government and, more directly, of the Ethiopian National FAO Committee, to expand food and agricultural production with the two-fold objective of increasing contributions to world supplies and raising the standard of living of the Ethiopian people. Ethiopia, torn by years of war and enemy occupation, has by no means solved her own internal agricultural and nutritional problems; but, in the words of His Majesty Haile Selassie First, *'We are gratified that Ethiopia has been able to contribute from her substance to the needy countries of the world even at a time when the Ethiopian people still suffer from the aftermath of occupation.'*

"Following the return of His Majesty to his country in May, 1941, the Ethiopian farmer willingly followed the suggestion of the Government and turned to the production of cereals for export. As a consequence, exports of cereals (chiefly wheat) and pulses, which had

theretofore been almost non-existent, rose from 67,143 tons in the year ended September 10, 1945, to 120,575 tons in 1947 and amounted to 117,748 for the 9 months ended 7th of June, 1948. Exports in the year which closed on September 10th last undoubtedly would have been considerably higher had it not been for the drastic cut in Ethiopia's fuel allocation, which impeded motor transport during the season of heaviest crop movement, and the sharp drop in prices which began about six months ago.

"As the Fourth Annual Conference of the FAO convenes in Washington, Ethiopian farmers are preparing to harvest what promises to be the largest wheat crop in the history of the country. The exact figures of the production are as yet unknown, but it is estimated that the exportable surplus will exceed 200,000 tons and may reach as high as 300,000 tons. In other words, Ethiopia is prepared to meet next year's bread-grain requirements of about 2,000,000 people, *if this wheat can be moved into export channels.* The exportation of this quantity, however, presents serious problems, both of a national and international character. On the one hand, transportation difficulties and costs within Ethiopia remain great. On the other hand, taking especially into account the heavy expenses between farm and tidewater, present world prices for wheat have reduced the possible return to the Ethiopian grower to a point which threatens to undermine the incentive to move his crop.

"The Imperial Ethiopian Government is loath to see the world deprived of any part of Ethiopian wheat production which can be made available. The Government, therefore, wishes to draw the attention of the FAO to this situation in the earnest hope that cooperative arrangements may be made to permit the full and proper distribution of this important food asset.

"It might also be observed that Ethiopia has the capacity to produce over 40,000 tons of wheat flour yearly, all but a small fraction of which would be available for export, since wheat flour is not an important element in Ethiopian diet. Actual exports during the years 1946 to 1947 were 14,670 and 14,522 tons respectively, while the figure for the first nine months for the year just closed was only 5,086 tons. In recent months, the flour milling industry was virtually closed down, to the detriment both of the Ethiopian economy and consumers abroad. Here again it is the hope of the Imperial Ethiopian Govern-

ment that a near-term solution to this unsatisfactory situation may be found, and it welcomes the suggestions of FAO and the member nations represented at the present Annual Conference.

"The position with regard to Ethiopian oilseeds—also a newcomer to foreign trade—differs materially from that of wheat. Production has expanded phenomenally over the past few years, and exports have increased twelve-fold in three years. Thus, exports during the first nine months ended 10 September last amounted to 12,000 tons as compared with 1,004 two years before. Output during the coming crop year will show a further sharp expansion, but only a fraction of the production potential is being reached. With technical assistance and an educational program, both of which are contemplated by the Ethiopian National FAO Committee, Ethiopia is fully capable of supplying the world with vastly greater quantities of both oilseeds and edible oils.

"The following resumé by no means covers the entire range of Ethiopia's actual and potential contribution to world supplies of food and other agricultural products. Ethiopia has been and remains an important factor in world coffee supplies, exports having averaged more than 15,000 tons in the past three years. Exports of hides have averaged about 5,000 tons in the same period, and large quantities of sheep and goat skins have moved into world markets. It must be remembered, however, that there is a wide gap between actual exports of all commodities mentioned and the export potential. Furthermore, Ethiopia can not only increase the *quantity* of her exports but also their *quality*, given the proper technical assistance and international collaboration.

"Ethiopia is not only concerned with expanding production and exports of existing agricultural products but also with the development of new products for domestic consumption as well as exportation. Cotton and meat are two outstanding examples of commodities falling in both categories. It would be beyond the scope of the present report to examine in detail all the various elements which present themselves in connection with the development of cotton and meat, but it is clear on the basis of analyses and investigations already completed that Ethiopia can and should become a supplier of both.

"Cotton is of primary importance for local consumption since cotton textiles have traditionally accounted for the bulk of Ethiopian imports. During the past three years, for example, the value of cotton textiles,

chiefly abudgedid (grey sheeting) has accounted for over half of the total value of Ethiopian imports. At the present time there is in operation within Ethiopia a 10,000 spindle cotton spinning and weaving mill which, however, produces only 10% of Ethiopian requirements. Plans are under way for the expansion of cotton textile production and it is the desire and intention of the Imperial Government to link such plans with a program of scientific cultivation of raw cotton. Ethiopia in no sense envisages a domestic economic program looking toward uneconomic production or self-sufficiency in the usual sense of the term, but it is vitally concerned in reducing the drain on foreign exchange resources resulting from heavy textile imports, and as a corollary, in creating new employment possibilities for its own people. Technical assistance in the field of cotton cultivation, therefore, ranks high on the list of Ethiopia's needs.

"Meat probably offers the greatest undeveloped food resource of Ethiopia. According to reliable estimates, the cattle population of Ethiopia is approximately 16,500,000 and it has been calculated that 350,000 head could be exported annually without jeopardizing local supplies. Over the past few years discussions with various foreign interests looking toward the establishment of a modern meat industry have been held, but as yet no concrete plans have been made. The Ethiopian National FAO Committee, however, is deeply concerned with the matter and it is anticipated that steps will be taken shortly to realize this vital asset. Further, Ethiopian meat production would, of course, mean a net addition to world food supplies, since the establishment of a modern packing or tinning plant would have little bearing on local supplies. In other words, the entire output of such an industry would be available for export. Meanwhile, with the valuable assistance of FAO technicians, Ethiopia is making a start towards the creation of a meat industry by its program of rinderpest eradication. In this connection, it might be observed that Ethiopia loses about 1,000,000 head of cattle per year through disease and it is for this reason that the services of the FAO were requested at the very beginning of Ethiopia's participation in FAO.

"In closing, the Ethiopian delegation wishes to stress the fact that the Ethiopian Empire is one of the few great reservoirs of food production which remains to realize its potential. For thousands of years the Ethiopian sun, rain and soil have achieved truly remarkable re-

sults with a minimum of technical assistance. The time has now come, however, to combine our great natural resources with the financial and technical assistance of nations more skilled in modern agricultural methods in order that the world may have the fullest possible benefit from its great potentialities."

The above statement of the Ethiopian delegation to FAO has been almost fully quoted, because it gives in broad outline the enormous possibilities of the country. It is estimated that only 15% of the 750,000 square kilometers of arable land in the country have been brought under cultivation. The grasslands are overstocked, but the zebu variety of cows could be greatly improved through scientific methods. A hard worker, the Ethiopian farmer has been an asset to the national wealth, and with the necessary modern aids could contribute very much more. FAO technicians have been rendering valuable help in the production of vaccines against rinderpest, and with Government cooperation through legislation, education and other means, cattle raisers are taking hold of the opportunity to see that their herds are vaccinated against disease. It is reported that most of the herd are raised with emphasis on beef cattle; but with such a large cattle population, there is abundant room for milk and dairy products for local as well as world markets.

Agriculture in Ethiopia in the period in question is not like what it was, say, up to the first decade of this century. The Ethiopian farmer is now on the road to modernizing his approach to securing better yields and takes ever growing interest in the educational and information aids brought to his grasp by the help of the State. Striking proof of his response to the need for production in the interest of raising his standard of living and incidentally, in increasing the national wealth, is his growing alertness to calls of his Government for bigger and better crops. The traditional grain produce of the Ethiopian farm is being changed in many quarters for yields which can absorb greater incidence of transport costs. Pulses and oilseeds, for instance, through Government encouragement, saw phenomenal increase, even over coffee in the latter period of the 1940's. As the Adviser to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry reported in his figures: "The highest percentage increases in export values were recorded by sesame seeds, which rose to 3,012,000 Ethiopian dollars in 1948 from only 72,000 Ethiopian dollars in 1946, and castor seeds, which were valued at 1,243,000 Ethiopian dollars, against 115,000 Ethiopian dollars in 1946."

Though old in years, Ethiopia is young in technical skills, and the first half of the Twentieth Century has seen the beginning of the acquisition of such modern technique. FAO had worked out a program including small agricultural industries for which the country is amply suited. With small foundries; community meat canning; curing and dehydrating plants; community vegetable canning plants; community vegetable and oil presses; community syrup and sugar production installations; community plants for decortization of fibres; the building of looms; establishment of more lumber mills; more shops for making lumber products, such as furniture and so forth; the extension of more kilns for making charcoal and distillation products; and other secondary industries which can utilize some of the raw materials there, the country can, with ease, enter into a golden age of modern economic processing.

The Government under Haile Selassie First have long realized that the small farmer and enterpriser would need a measure of financial aid to play his part in the economic evolution of the country. Consequently, on September 12th, 1945, the Agricultural Bank began its work in financing the small farmer to better his cattle and his crops. The general purpose of the Bank is to aid in the agricultural development of the country. The short term program in which the first two years were spent was to help the farmer through loans ranging from 125 to 2,000 Ethiopian dollars. The long term plan is to provide loans for large agricultural schemes, such as plantation crops, irrigation, etc. The Charter of the Bank covers as well loans in the industrial field. The loans are, as a rule, for three years, amortized at the rate of 20% at the end of the first year, 30% at the end of the second and the balance at the end of the third with an interest rate of 5% per annum. During the latter half of 1950, the Ethiopian Government raised a loan of 2,000,000 U.S. dollars to be spent in connection with the work of this bank, the scope of whose activities, it is expected, will be expanded more definitely in the industrial field. The Ethiopian small farmer has proved to be a good risk, for the successive annual balance sheets of the Bank's activities show that loans were repaid with a minimum of defaults.

Trained personnel has been a problem with Ethiopia in embracing modernization in all fields. Agriculture is no exception. To meet this need and to bridge the gap between the employment of foreign work-

ers and the local supply, the Ministry of Agriculture has established schools to cope with the vital need for training. The Agricultural Schools at Ambo and Holotta are designed to give courses in both the practical and technical fields. The student body is drawn from the secondary schools and from students presenting the equivalent and showing preparation and aptitude for technical agricultural pursuits.

After completion of the prescribed course of studies, the entrants qualify for a diploma. From among these the best graduates are sent abroad to different Agricultural Colleges for higher studies in specialized fields. It is hoped that from these young men will come a body of experts to take care of the work now carried on to a large extent by foreign experts. In addition, Agricultural Practice Schools in the provinces serve local needs.

The academic and technical curriculum of the Schools consists of the following eight divisions: The Agricultural School Institute; the Divisions of Technical Service; Experimental and Model Farm Administration; Higher Veterinary Service; Higher Meteorological and Anti-locust Service; and Inspector General Service. The economy of the country being basically agricultural, it goes without saying that this educational program is of the utmost importance. The field of work is very extensive, and it will take many years before satisfactory results are registered. In conformity, however, with the national aspirations it is all too evident that economic stability is the surest insurance of political freedom.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Commerce and Industry

Commerce and Industry in Ethiopia as the terms imply today are not of mushroom character. In ancient days, the Ethiopians traded with Greece and other lands in the Middle East area. In the pre-Christian era, a very high civilization has been noted by historians, and many of the items of merchandise found ready acceptance in the marts of international trade then known. During the decadence of that civilization and the era of isolation, Ethiopians maintained enough wares of their own manufacture to supply their communities, and workers in cloth, metals, leather, straw, wood and other materials still abound who were trained in the old ways. By the turn of this century, such products as coffee, hides and skins, and civet essence had found their way into international marts, the impetus for colonization of the Ethiopian region having been stimulated by the desire of European nations to harness its trade and potentialities. Ethiopia was found hard to conquer militarily, but economically she had products which were demanded by the European markets, and thus the contact was kept alive by interested individuals and enterprises. The diplomatic rivalry between European powers to court the favor of Ethiopia in that period was not a vacuum; economic interests lay behind their moves; raw materials, which could be found in Ethiopia in abundance, were part of the prize.

Ethiopians and the Ethiopian Government had come to realize that trade and commerce, both local and international, were indispensable to the advancement of their country. Manufactured goods had to be imported to feed and support their modern reforms, and international trade provided the best means of doing so. It is therefore found that before the Italian invasion, the country's international trade was roughly two million sterling annually, about 8,000,000 United States dollars,

and consisted in the exchange of coffee, hides, skins and beeswax for the commoner textiles and simple hardware. The treaties of friendship and concord between Ethiopia and Britain, France and Italy made provisions for trade, and trade missions were sent to Japan, India and the United States, all in a desire to expand its foreign commerce. The Franco-Ethiopian railway, from the French Somali coast to the Capital, Addis Ababa, provided the link with the outside world. Internal communications were primitive and largely dependent on pack animals, although, after the reign of Menelik II, efforts were made to construct viable roads leading from the Capital to other parts of the country. There was then a small but slowly expanding market in which the export trade was controlled by a half dozen well-established European firms; imports largely in the hands of Indians and Arabs; and internal trade divided among Arab, Greek and Ethiopian traders. Because of over-capitalization for the small volume of trade then available, experiments by large corporations failed. The tendency then was to bring in more merchandise than could be covered by the volume of goods available in exchange; and owing to the inadequacy of communications very little could be done to stimulate production.

As a result of the long isolation, the population of the country, variously estimated in the 1920's at 6 to 15 millions, maintained a low standard of living. The peasant grew his own food and a little above for local exchange; there was no emphasis on crops for export, except coffee, and a good deal of that was picked wild in the forests. Simple peasant industries which had flourished during all the centuries of Ethiopia's isolation from the rest of the world, such as the weaving of local cotton and wool, basketwork, pottery and metal work, were still successfully competing with the growing tide of manufactured goods from abroad. No great volume of exports was then required, because the wants of the masses were rather few and only in the large towns and among the upper classes were there signs of an expanding demand for imported luxuries. Strangely enough, the Ethiopian looked upon trading with disdain, preferring to be either a farmer, a teacher, a priest, or an artisan. This left the field of trade to Arabs, Greeks, Indians, Armenians, and others.

Through the impact of the progressive reforms instituted by Haile Selassie First after he came to public life in 1916, foreign industrial enterprises began to come in. Saw-mills, flour-mills, oil-mills, soap man-

ufacture, tanneries and a few others became supplements of the handicrafts in which the Ethiopian artisan was so versed. The progress in social reformation was very appreciable up to 1934, when the Italo-Ethiopian war challenged; but so far as trade and commerce, the nation was still at the dawn. The slow rise of the standard of living of the masses did not exert at that time any noticeable pressure on the demand for more imported goods.

Italy committed many deeds of horror in Ethiopia which are against the credit of any civilized nation. Her forceful penetration into the country, however, has left certain material gains which redound to the benefit of Ethiopia. Commerce and industry in Ethiopia under the Fascist occupation were harnessed for the sole benefit of the Italians. In doing so, they taught many lessons to the Ethiopian people, and, in addition, left behind them a deal of material blessing.

In the space of four years, between 1936 and 1940, Italian Fascism poured vast sums of money into Ethiopia. A network of modern roads was constructed, fleets of trucks imported, factories and electric plants built. A grandiose program of development and research was initiated. The keynote in all these cases was haste, partly in order to lessen the drain on Italy, and mainly with a view to hasten the moment when the new colony could support its new and large Italian population and incidentally its indigenous millions. To this end, old constructions were taken over and adapted, new were jerry-built of local or temporary materials. Most were intended for the immediate needs of the Italians themselves or were related to the constructional program. Thus, cement, brick and tile works, engineering shops and furniture works all fell into this category.

During this period the commerce of the country underwent a process of forcing and readjustment. The old firms, with very few exceptions, were expropriated. They were replaced by nearly 1,000 Italian firms, half of which handled food and clothing, while the others were split up between metals and machines, timber and furniture, chemical products, etc. Only about 10% of the new total was interested in the former staple articles of import or export. The export trade that was done with Europe and America in coffee, hides and skins diminished very considerably. Imports, on the other hand, were increased to nearly thirty times their former value, although articles imported for Ethiopians were little more than double their pre-1936

value. Both imports and exports were diverted from other foreign countries to Italy. Commerce, like everything else, was constrained to the master plan of Fascist policy.

The occupation came to an end with the expulsion of the Fascist occupiers from Ethiopia, and this, in the midst of their transformation of the nation's economy to one of colonial dependence. The lion's share of the channels of trade went to Italian markets; the pre-war channels were blocked, or the traditional buyers of Ethiopian goods had sought other markets. Then again, there was a world war which regimented normal commerce. The ravages of war and the sweeping away of the mushroom growth of Fascist industrial and commercial enterprise produced a situation in which trade, for the time being, was completely dead. Ordered government had to be re-created, smashed communications reopened, essential services maintained and the stream of internal and external commerce undammed. In a briefer than expected period these were accomplished and, starting from the small beginnings made from the brief months of British occupation after the Italian defeat, a year after the liberation Ethiopian commerce had reached higher levels than any known before the occupation.

Counting from the 1930's up to 1949, Ethiopia's trade increased more than six-fold. From an approximate level of U. S. $8,000,000 in the base period, by 1943, two years after the return of the Government, this trade amounted to U. S. $22,000,000. Between 1945 and 1949, it averaged about U. S. $54,000,000, and taking into consideration the vast economic possibilities and the awakened people, this figure keeps constantly rising.

It cannot be gainsaid that the Italian occupation as well as the world war had some telling effect on the resuscitation of Ethiopian commerce. Roads, mechanical transport and new fields of trade left by the invader have affected and will continue to affect Ethiopian commerce. Of the 10,000 kilometers of roads and tracks planned by the Italians (or replanned, since, in fact, the Ethiopian Government had already laid out some 4,000 kilometers before the occupation), not more than two-thirds were ever completed. Approximately half of those completed were rendered useless owing to blown-up bridges and the lack of maintenance. Through traffic has been kept open between Addis Ababa and Eritrea with branch roads from near Dessie to Assab, between Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa and thence to Jibouti and

also through Harar to Berbera. As a residue of communications left by the occupiers, this represented an immense step forward as contrasted with internal communications before 1936. The upkeep of these arteries of communication proved to be a massive job for the Ethiopian Government for the first few years after the liberation. Since then, however, the Ministry of Public Works has not only maintained the most vital ones, but most of the important bridges which were destroyed have been rebuilt and new ones erected, among which is the large and modern span constructed to connect the three provinces of Shoa, Beghemdir and Gojjam. Today, with the 5,000,000 United States dollars borrowed from the International Bank, a Highway Authority has been set up to guarantee the maintenance of the main arteries of communication in the country.

The second contingent factor has been mechanical transport. In the ordinary course of events this innovation would have been introduced slowly and in small quantities. The Italian invasion, however, filled the country with thousands of diesel trucks in a matter of weeks. A large percentage of these was destroyed during the reconquest, but a possible 1,000 commercial vehicles and another thousand private cars were left on the road behind their retreat. Because of war stringency, spare parts and tires were lacking at the outset which had the effect of diminishing their use. The exchange of goods between the interior and the Capital was greatly influenced by these transport facilities, which have radically changed the method of transportation within the country forever, animal transport having been reduced to feeder routes. Today internal and external commerce in Ethiopia is serviced mainly by this element of mechanical transport, especially because the Franco-Ethiopian railway is inadequate to serve the entire trade. With the Eritrean ports in the hands of the Ethiopian Government, mechanical transport is sure to experience great expansion to carry Ethiopian produce to tide water.

As a result of the occupation a third factor has come to influence Ethiopian trade—that of the increased scope of commercial activity tied up with a fairly general desire for a better standard of living. The objective of the occupiers notwithstanding, their wide-spread constructional program left as a logical consequence an industrial labor class of a sort. They had to use Ethiopian labor, and the thousands who tasted the benefits of employment and wages and were thus able to purchase the abundance of goods that flooded the occupation market, con-

stituted the wage-earning group. Food was needed and the invaders encouraged cash crops, which have come to stay and have brought about a number of vegetable farms in all parts of the country. Today, thousands of men and women leave the country districts for the capital and other centers in search of work. The Ministry of Commerce and Industry took the initiative to see that trade guilds were organized, so that employers in search of workers could find them with fair facility. In cotton weaving and in the building trades particularly, the aftermath of the brief industrial span of the Fascist occupation is still felt.

The economic progress of all countries, even the most industrialized, has moved from one substantially agricultural, for most of the raw materials for the industrial machines comes from cultivation of the soil. Moreover, the soil is still responsible for the major part of economic goods used by twentieth century man. Since the Industrial Revolution, however, newer skills have been applied, through which the areas of purely agricultural economies continue reducing. Though predominantly in the agrarian stage, Ethiopia is steadily moving in the direction of producing some of the industrial items necessary for her use. Although now closed down, the Permanent Exhibition and Center for the encouragement of national products revealed that many industrially produced wares are fabricated in the country. Such items as brewed and distilled beverages, knitwear, flour, liquors and liqueurs, mineral water, oil and soap, electricity, lumber, furniture, hats, nails, chemicals, rubber, gems, ceramics and glass, etc., represent some of the things that are industrially produced. Agriculture itself as an industry, including forestry, kitchen gardening, orchards, vegetal fibre processing, husbandry, bee-keeping, poultry farming, forage and fish and their grading, cleaning, and marketing account for a great deal of the industrial activity of the people. To these must be added the services, such as hairdressing, dressmaking and tailoring, merchandising, transport in which the Ethiopian Air Lines, bus, trucking and taxi services contribute.

"Last year on Our visit to this Exhibition We advised and encouraged you as to its development and improvement. Today We are very pleased to see that, heeding Our advice, you have made a great deal of progress and improvement. We are appreciative of your efforts for two important reasons: First, the development of industry will enrich Our country; Secondly, it will strengthen Our Government and glorify its honorable name.

"An individual who does not utilize his energies to better his condition is like one who dismembers himself. To depend only on the things produced by others does not bring complete happiness. To enjoy the fruits of one's toil encourages and strengthens the creative spirit, sustains one's pride and contributes in a most tangible way to security and happiness.

"A permanent economy cannot be built only on imports. For Our country to progress and lay a permanent economic foundation, it is necessary that We produce those things which this Fair-Exhibition shows that you can do so well and continue to improve your skills to the highest perfection. We therefore recommend that you continue on the road to progress so that next year will find you further on the ladder," declared His Majesty the Emperor at a formal visit to the Exhibition, 1949.

Foreign merchants and industrialists are required to observe certain laws and practices concerning personal and business restrictions, company law, price control, import and export licensing procedures, hides and skins control and the control of factories. Within 30 days of arrival all foreigners are required to register with the Director of Public Security in Addis Ababa or his representatives elsewhere, and to pay for the registration.

In the establishment of new businesses in the country the merchant or industrialist must address a written application to the Minister of Commerce and Industry for permission to do so. This granted, the applicant is then called upon to register his enterprise in the Commercial Register of the Ministry with particulars as to capital, shareholders, directors, etc. In the case of companies and partnerships, a copy of the Statutes or Act of Association is required in addition to the foregoing information. This information should conform to the law of Societies dated July 12th, 1933, which deals with civil and commercial societies and which divides commercial societies into partnerships and companies. Two kinds of partnerships are recognized: General and Limited Partnerships. Companies are divided by the law into Companies limited by shares and Companies limited by guaranty.

A comprehensive law of Partnerships, Societies, and Companies' winding-up is now being drafted; but the standard practice in France, the United Kingdom or any other continental country may be accepted where Memorandum and Articles of Association are concerned. In the case of branch concerns, reasonable time is always al-

lowed for the production of the necessary documents and an interim permit to operate is generally accorded. A payment of 1/10th percent on the registered capital is made to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry only on registration. The Trading and Business License is subsequently obtained from the Municipality in Addis Ababa and is paid annually as Municipal taxation.

The Minister of Commerce has the power by law to fix prices and to control profit margins on all imported and locally produced articles. Among the importer, wholesaler and the retailer, the ceiling of 20% of the cost price of imported goods was temporarily fixed by the Price Control Proclamation of May 31st, 1943. All merchants are required to keep proper books and records which must contain such information as price, quantity and quality of goods imported by them as well as the prices at which they sell such goods. By Proclamation No. 53 of 1944, the Minister of Commerce was given power to order the declaration of all stocks of all or any class of goods manufactured or grown in Ethiopia. He may also demand information regarding the prices paid for such goods and fix the maximum prices at which stocks may be sold by wholesalers and retailers. Thus, ceiling prices were fixed in Addis Ababa for oils, soaps, dairy products, cereal manufactures, bread, flour, canned tomatoes, coffee (roasted or ground), cotton goods, leather, beer and hand-woven cotton goods. Outside of Addis Ababa the same prices plus transport costs can be charged.

Hides and skins being such important items in the foreign trade of the country, it was found appropriate to make certain legislative provisions to ensure the best results. The Minister of Commerce and Industry has been empowered to make regulations for improving the standard of hides and skins exported, regulating grading, manner of sale and purchase, preparation, marking and baling, etc. No one is allowed to purchase for the purpose of resale or export, or tanning, any hide or skin without a license, nor is anyone allowed to export any hide or skin without a special license. From the contents of the Proclamation it is clear that this control was made for the sole purpose of improving the standard of hides and skins exported from Ethiopia, since it prohibits the purchase, sale or possession of hides or skins which are not thoroughly dried, or are smeared with blood, dung, or other similar matter, or seriously damaged by knife cuts, or scores in the flaying or otherwise. It also provides that places used for this work

should be sanitary and that the hides and skins should be properly stored to avoid damage.

It is undoubtedly true that there are no sizable industrial establishments in Ethiopia in which thousands of workers are employed. In the quasi-industrial period in which the country finds itself, however, the Government has sought to lay down certain rules to guarantee fair working conditions for those who must gain their livelihood in factories. In 1944, a law titled "Factories Proclamation" was promulgated on April 29th, giving power to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry to regulate their working conditions. The extent of the order covered among other matters: Rules regarding the hours of employment; Rules regarding the safety of persons employed in dangerous trades; Rules regulating conditions under which buildings for factories or machinery in factories may be constructed or erected; Rules regarding the appointment of inspectors and regulating their duties and powers; the fixing of fees, charges, tariffs and penalties. At present the usual hours of daily employment are about 50 for five and a half days work.

It seems appropriate here to give a glance into what has been done in the first half of the Twentieth Century to attack the problem of encouraging an industrial labor force so vitally necessary in the modernization of Ethiopia. Constituting one of the major problems of any government and people, employment, besides being one of the media in the pursuit of happiness, is one of the recognized indices of the prosperity of any community. The development of Ethiopian industry must be gauged by the number of available employable workers; and most especially an adequate number of those who are skilled enough to accept and execute technical assignments and to serve in supervisory capacities. The enormous success of British and American production is a saga of the large body of skilled and semi-skilled artisans performing specialized tasks in the panorama of essential industrial arts.

In the program of rehabilitation and reconstruction of Ethiopia it has been recognized that an adequate skilled labor force is a prime necessity. Modern development calls for newer and improved methods of doing things. In the absence of any organized labor class, and indeed of any organized crafts, the artisans of the country were to a great extent unknown up to 1945. For instance, in the building trades those skilled in these fields were hard to locate. Mostly because of the lack of finance capital which resulted in spasmodic opportunities for work for

these men, many of them were lost in the shuffle or had taken up their time in other pursuits, such as farming or merchandising. In the absence of enough attraction in finding steady employment in the building trades, there was no incentive to the youth to follow apprenticeship in this essential field. As an aftermath of the Italian occupation, most of these young men tried to go in for the mechanical trades, such as automotive repairs, metal work and driving, some of them falling back to the native crafts, such as blacksmithing, weaving, pottery, rug making, shoemaking and the like.

The new trend of industrial expansion forced Ethiopia to look not only to the perfection of these old-time trades, but to teach other essential crafts for which many hands are needed to carry on the rebuilding along the newer lines. Despite the prevailing circumstances, however, there were many stone masons, brick layers, carpenters and other bench hands who could not be found, both from the lack of incentive and because their whereabouts were usually unknown. This condition was further aggravated by the policy of the invaders who did not encourage the indigenous artisan class, but bent their efforts to relegate the Ethiopian to the menial part of the day by day chores during their five years' rule.

In 1945 a body of these men, artisans in many fields, paid a visit to the Imperial Palace, when His Imperial Majesty took the occasion to speak to them. Always solicitous of the welfare of his people, and possessing a full grasp on the importance of skilled craftsmen in the nation, the Emperor commended them to do their best to improve their workmanship through diligence and education, always bearing in mind that it was men like them who built the great cities and monuments of modern day civilization. Also, the hour had struck when Ethiopia needed every skilled person in the Empire and considerably more who must be trained in the basic industrial skills.

From this interview came the first Labor Center in Ethiopia, for His Majesty the Emperor graciously granted the compound of the Patriots' Club, a collection of many buildings and a great hall, in the heart of the Capital, to serve as a center for skilled tradesmen. Since then the buildings and the compound have been renovated and redecorated by the hands of the men themselves—bricklayers, masons, carpenters, painters, landscapers, interior decorators and others of them bringing about the transformation. The educational and civic program of the

Center includes the teaching of the indigenous crafts, modern trades with emphasis on cooperativeness, ability, standard of workmanship. Registration of skilled workmen has been effected and a labor council charged with the maintenance of national standards instituted. From this humble beginning a body of rules and regulations determining national specifications of skilled work is being worked out for all trades in the Empire.

The Labor Center should be viewed as the inception of an activity holding enormous meaning for the future of Ethiopia. Within and beyond its activities, the training of apprentices, in which the Ministry of Education shares, is most significant. It is upon the shoulders of the journeymen, craftsmen, who have acquired skill and experience through practical work, that the responsibility rests for assuring the industrial progress of the future. Another phase of the Center is that it serves as an employment bureau to channel workers to those who wish to engage their services. The plan is that factories and other employers will apply to this bureau which has the list of available artisans and a compilation of their experience and ability together with a record of their availability to fill such orders.

Since there is no labor movement in Ethiopia, the Center, by seeking the cooperation of the Chamber of Commerce, has brought labor and management together both to stimulate industry and to assist in the trend towards a better standard of living for the workers. The question of wage rates is part of the working schedule of the Center which bids fair for the regulation of wages and working conditions.

In 1947, the Addis Ababa Chamber of Commerce was instituted and its charter published in the Negarit Gazeta. Article 4 of the Charter reads:

> The function of the Chamber of Commerce shall be as follows:
>
> (1) The advancement of the commerce and industry of Our empire by all lawful means;
>
> (2) The dissemination of commercial and industrial information among the members within the Empire of Ethiopia and abroad;
>
> (3) The establishment of friendly relations with Chambers of Commerce in other countries and the exchange of information in their mutual interests;

(4) The representation of the appropriate Ministry or Department of Our Government in any matter affecting the commerce and industry of Our Empire.
(5) The conduct of any arbitration of commercial or industrial differences between members.

Today the Addis Ababa Chamber of Commerce is assisting the free flow of trade within and without the country by the preparation of surveys on commodity exchange, free competition, list and categories of commodities available in Ethiopia, and aids to the best methods of distribution. As a step in the general effort of the nation to bring into line all the various activities of the life and interests of the people, the Addis Ababa Chamber of Commerce is there to be consulted by merchants and other types of traders.

Price control, which was decreed in 1943, was not working well when the Minister of Commerce and Industry called the members of the Chamber of Commerce together. The response of the members was in every way gratifying, for thereafter it became particularly easy to enforce the provisions of this Act with the ultimate aim of establishing a normal economic situation. At another time when the merchants in the interior, because of the force of custom thought of demanding Maria Theresa Thalers for their products, a situation which had resulted in the retardation of the flow of trade from the interior to the capital, the Chamber of Commerce was the channel through which these merchants were reached. Like the Chambers of Commerce in other countries, this institution has shown its manifest importance in the commercial and industrial life of the country.

CHAPTER TWELVE

Finance

It is impossible to even consider phases of state activity without taking into account finances. The most routine projects of civic and community life entail expenditure; and for a country like Ethiopia, reaching out to rebuild herself, national revenue becomes the telling index of progress. An axiom of political economy, Ethiopia's advancement in the first half of the Twentieth Century is a story of her ability to make "ends meet" under her own power. With her mainly pastoral and agricultural economy, sources of revenue continue to be few, and over-taxation might itself destroy them and produce the adverse effect to that desired by the Government. In other words, the large body of reforms found essential to modernize the country has had to be undertaken with circumspection—with priorities to the services in terms of their urgency.

Prior to the Italian invasion, a budgetary system was not introduced; it becomes of importance, therefore, to take the period after the restoration in 1941. The financial administration today, built around the Ministry of Finance and a Central Treasury is a new thing in Ethiopia. The system started out with the handicap of trained personnel and the enormous difficulties of communications within the country, plus the inevitable restrictions of war. A coordinated revenue system and budgetary control in a territory ravaged by war for nearly six years during which everything was changed, presented no mean problem. It had to be done, and that quickly, to bring order out of chaos.

The United Kingdom Government provided a subsidy of 2,500,000 pounds sterling, about ten million United States dollars, to the new government with which to begin the program of reconstruction. With this aid, for which the Ethiopian Government has always been grateful, it was impossible to finance all the projects put forward by the

Ministries; expenditure had to be confined to most essential services. Budgets for 1941 and 1942 were drawn up but, with inadequate cash reserves, disbursements had to be strictly controlled, and ministerial expenditure had to be regulated by a system of quarterly allocations, which, naturally, hampered the formulation of any long-term development schemes.

The first steps taken in this financial reform were, the centralization of the financial system, the standardization of taxation, and effective control by the Central Treasury of its many established branches in the provinces. Much of the archaic arrangement of medieval Ethiopia was done away with and instead, a reformed land tax based on proper assessment was instituted. The legislative provisions of the Imperial Decree of November 25th, 1941, gave the statutory basis for this new plan, which brought the toll gate, a hindrance of internal trade, to a standstill, did away with receipt of taxes in kind and the old method of corvée. Series of statutes were enacted by the Legislature to institute modern taxation and Government finance. In the same way, the expenditure side was brought into the picture with the establishment of budget allocations under the strict control of the Central Treasury.

This sweeping change was brought about not without difficulty. For nothing of that nature had existed, as stated before, prior to the invasion. Nor were the Italians able, during the five years of occupation, to introduce any kind of financial administration in Ethiopia. They were incessantly harassed by guerrilla warfare which made it impossible for them to impose any kind of general taxation on the inhabitants. No system of taxation was therefore in existence when the restoration came about. Organized Government financing had to start from scratch, and that without any approximate anticipation of revenue.

By law the ultimate power over the nation's finances rests with the Legislature by authority of the supreme power of His Imperial Majesty through Article 55 of the Ethiopian Constitution, adopted on the 15th of July 1931, and through subsequent legislative provisions enacted by Parliament from time to time. From this source does the Ministry of Finance derive its legal powers, its authority. By law were the internal regulations of the Ministry also established in 1942, which define the procedures for its proper functions. Among them are: financial and accounting responsibilities, the annual estimates, classification and control of receipts and payments, the custody of Government funds,

accounts, bookkeeping and auditing, to mention a few of the most important.

The Constitution specifically states that "the receipts of the treasury, of whatever nature they may be, shall only be expended in conformity with the annual budget, fixing the sums to be at the disposal of each Ministry." The annual budget, since then, is the *cause celebre* of the Ministry of Finance. Through the operation of the budget, apart from its own functions, the Ministry of Finance becomes the hub around which all the other Ministries and departments operate.

Goods and services must be procured and paid for, and it is the province of the Budgetary arm of the Ministry of Finance, not only to provide the funds necessary and to see that they are judiciously allotted, but, through the Chief Treasurer, in his capacity as Chief Accounting Officer, to maintain efficient checks against the occurrence of fraud, embezzlement, or carelessness. In order to make this system effective throughout the country, a system of Provincial Treasuries was established under the immediate supervision of the Provincial Treasurers. These men are the official representatives of the Minister of Finance and the chief accounting and Treasury officials of the provinces. In the exercise of their accounting duties, they are answerable to the Minister of Finance and their disciplinary supervision is in the hands of the Governors-General of the Provinces.

The duties and responsibilities of these provincial officials are the same as those of the Chief Treasurer in Addis Ababa, varying only in degree of direct responsibility and in importance of rank. They must comply with all the instructions issued by the Minister of Finance or on his behalf. There is uniformity in the forms and procedures to be applied in their work which emanate from the Secretary General of the Ministry. It is he who is responsible for the organization of an effective system of archives, records and statistics, and for the engagement and posting of staff for the entire Ministry, excluding that of the office of the Chief Treasurer.

These duties and responsibilities of purely Ministry of Finance personnel do not exonerate the other Ministries from their respective financial duties and responsibilities. Indeed, in the financial regulations, it is stated that heads of Departments, sub-accountants and all other accounting officers are personally responsible for the due performance of the financial duties of their office. The fact here is that all finan-

cial matters of the Government come under the strict supervision of the Ministry of Finance by authority.

As a healthy check on the powers of the Ministry of Finance, and to guarantee collective responsibility in the spending of Treasury funds, the annual budget becomes law thus: the Minister of Finance is responsible for the presenting of the annual estimates with a detailed explanatory note to the Council of Ministers which approves them after making the desirable alterations. These draft estimates are then presented to the Lower House of the Parliament through which it is the duty of the Minister of Finance to guide the draft appropriation bill. This, passed by the Legislature and approved by His Majesty the Emperor, becomes the annual budget after the prescribed rules of giving the Minister of Finance a "General Warrant for Expenditure."

There are over twenty series of revenue-yielding items operative in Ethiopia today, their yields falling into four broad categories: (1) Duties, taxes, licenses, etc.; (2) Receipts from, or in aid of specific Government services, such as hospital fees or hospital receipts; (3) Receipts on account of undertakings of a commercial character; and (4) Revenue from Government property, such as lands, houses and investments. Most of the revenue is directly collectable by the agencies of the Ministry of Finance; but the other Ministries all cooperate in the collection of public funds for specific services.

A department of the Ministry known as the Direction of Finance must study the figures for the draft estimates, check their details and put them in approved form. With the drive of rehabilitation and reconstruction, the exigencies induce all Departments and Ministries to demand increased or supplementary budgets. By the activity of this section of the Ministry of Finance, the approach is found to allocate the national revenue to these agencies according to the need and the priority of the various services. At the outset difficulties were encountered, because each Department held that its job was just as essential as that of any other. With the aid of the Ministerial Council this machinery is now working smoothly, the Direction of Finance is now in full grasp of every branch of the Government and the priorities are fairly well established. In addition, this is the Department that controls foreign exchange and is directly concerned with banking operations.

A considerable part of the national revenue is accounted for by three sub-divisions of the Ministry of Finance. These are: The Cus-

toms, Land Tax Revenue and Inland Revenue Departments. Customs duties are fixed by law and today all the frontier posts are covered by Customs Agents, the centre of this agency being located in Addis Ababa. The Department of Land Tax Revenue has to do with taxation on land and land tenure. Outside of the land owned by the Government, which is operated by the Department of State Domains and which also pays land tax, there are two types of land tenure: (a) That relating to newly developed areas in which tax is assessed by *Gasha* of approximately 40 hectares; and (b) that on communal lands in the older areas measured by *Deber* in such places as Gojjam and Beghemdir on which tax is prorated on communal units. There are four types of land rates based on fertility–fertile, semi-fertile, poor and unmeasured lands. Most of the land taxes payable before the Italian occupation were paid in kind, that is, in cereals or in services. The Land Tax Proclamation of 1942, made land tax payable in money. Over and above the land tax, those who till the soil are assessed one-tenth of their produce (tithes) which also are now payable in money based on the current value of the products. Concerned with income tax, excise and stamp duties, the Department of Inland Revenue, instituted in 1947, occupies an important place in the list of Treasury receipts. The budget of 1944 is here given to indicate a typical example, although both revenue and disbursements now have grown considerably:

REVENUE ESTIMATES

	*M.T.$.
Land Revenue:	
(a) Land Tax	2,500,000
(b) Tithe	2,500,000
(c) Market dues	2,100,000
(d) Wood Tax	100,000
Court Fees and Fines	1,000,000
Customs	7,500,000
Excise Tax (Alcohol and Beer)	450,000
Inland Revenue:	
(a) Income & Profit tax	2,500,000
(b) Property tax	150,000
(c) Petrol tax	365,000

(d) Salt tax	1,000,000
(e) Entertainment tax	15,000
Tobacco Monopoly	700,000
Stamp Duty	100,000
Licenses & Fees:	
(a) Motor Vehicle & Driving	150,000
(b) Registration of Companies	5,000
(c) Passports	1,000
(d) Explosives & Miscellaneous	10,000
Posts, Telegraphs & Telephones	300,000
Earnings of Government Departments:	
(a) Ministry of Agriculture	40,000
(d) Ministry of Education	1,000
(c) Printing Presses:	
Birhannina Salam	150,000
Marha Tibab	80,000
(d) Ministry of Education	1,000
(e) Public Health	60,000
(f) Mining	5,000,000
(g) State Domains	500,000
Miscellaneous:	
(a) Sale of Stores	20,000
(b) Sale of cereals	500,000
(c) Unclassified receipts	1,000,000
(d) Interest on working capital	250,000
Supplementary estimated revenue from the new land tax as per Proclamation No. 70 of the 1st November, 1944	9,000,000
GRAND TOTAL:	38,072,000

*M.T.$. = Maria Theresa Dollars

EXPENDITURE SCHEDULE:

	*M.T.$.
1. Civil List	2,053,174.00
2. Prime Minister's Office	220,683.20
3. Ministry of Communications	218,334.00
4. Ministry of Public Works	3,250,000.00

5. Ministry of Education & Fine Arts.....	1,672,450.00
6. Ministry of Commerce and Industry.....	234,447.00
7. Ministry of the Interior (Including $1.595,355.96 for the Public Health Department and $5,763.229 for the Public Security [Police])	10,970,449.00
8. Ministry of Agriculture	679,639.00
9. Ministry of Foreign Affairs	978,825.38
10. Ministry of Finance	2,500,000.00
11. Ministry of War	7,976,334.00
12. Ministry of the Pen	1,003,158.00
13. Ministry of Justice	1,371,104.00
14. Ministry of Posts	630,586.00
15. Imperial Guards	1,959,722.00
16. Aviation Department	200,000.00
17. Unforeseen Expenditure	2,023,650.00
GRAND TOTAL:	37,942,556.31

*M.T.$. = Maria Theresa Dollars

Outside of and besides government finance organization, the most vital link in the financial structure of the country is the Bank. The present State Bank of Ethiopia, established by Proclamation on the 26th of August, 1942, has taken the place of the old Bank of Ethiopia, has superseded all other previous banking institutions and is today the only banking institution authorized to do all kinds of banking business. Its Charter which was adopted in November of the following year, provided for a Board of Directors appointed by His Imperial Majesty. Various officials of the Government were appointed to the Board, all Ethiopians, except for the Governor, at that time a Canadian. The original and fixed capital, provided by the Ministry of Finance, was 1,000,000 Maria Theresa Thalers, which has since been increased to two million Ethiopian dollars; the State Bank of Ethiopia began operations in Addis Ababa April 1943.

The general conditions at the time of the opening of the State Bank were influenced by factors beyond the control of Ethiopia. There was a World War; the country had just been liberated from enemy occupation; Ethiopia had experienced two major military campaigns in six years. The Italian surrender in 1941 left nothing but confusion, especially in two phases of activity important to banking: the administrative

and the economic. Even then, in 1943, the campaign for the expulsion of the enemy and the liquidation of the occupation was hardly complete—the distant provinces were still in an unsettled condition and lines of communication were not as yet repaired.

Ethiopia's traditional channels of trade had been dislocated by five years of occupation during which the economy of the country had been distorted in order to meet the exigencies of the fascist regime. New trade connections were established by the Allies, designed to provide for the imperative needs of the outside world, still at war. The export of important commodities, such as cereals, hides and skins, was monopolized and, generally speaking, exports and imports were subjected to Allied control.

The monetary situation, under the circumstances, was no less confused. Three different currencies were in circulation: the Italian Lira, the East African Shilling and the Maria Theresa Thaler. The Government took immediate steps to eliminate the Italian Lira, but the East African Shilling and the Maria Theresa Thaler continued for nearly four years as legal tender. As one of the measures of liquidating the Italian occupation, all their banks were closed; to meet the restoration emergency, a branch of the British owned Barclay's Bank undertook to supply banking facilities. Clearly a transition arrangement, it soon became evident that there was the imperative need for the creation of a national banking system. The State Bank of Ethiopia was the answer, and came as an essential part of the general re-organization of the country's administration. It was decided that the new banking system should be owned and to a large extent operated by the Ethiopian Government to buttress as well as insure an integrated financial plan.

By the establishment of the State Bank of Ethiopia banking operations were thus consolidated, and branches were opened in many traffic centers in the interior of the country. The development of commercial activities, in the early years of the institution, was slow. The management maintained a cautious policy during this period, not only because of the low level of trade, but also because of the general confusion, aftermath of the occupation and caused by the world war. Strongly enforced exchange control limited the number of letters of credit opened, particularly during 1943 and 1944. Foreign exchange earnings then were small. On the other hand, as early as December, 1943, deposits exceeded eleven million Maria Theresa Thalers, an important

part of which was Government deposits, and a strong cash position was maintained. By the end of 1944, the Bank had acquired a sound and fairly established position as a leading factor in the economic life of the country. Correspondent accounts were opened with banks in Bombay, Nairobi, Khartoum, Asmara, Aden, London and New York.

In the currency field, however, things were not conducive to effective operations of the Bank nor to effective Government finance policy. The East African Shilling and the Maria Theresa Thaler circulated together in a most unsatisfactory manner. The East African Shilling was introduced by the British Military forces during the campaign of liberation and the first months after its conclusion. Generally speaking, its circulation was restricted to the larger towns and their immediate surroundings. The Maria Theresa Thaler held its place as the traditional currency of the country, and was regarded by the farmers as their best storehouse of value. The attempt of the Italians to replace it with Lira had failed, and they were finally compelled to pay their way with newly minted Maria Theresa Thalers. The British Military authorities had the same experience with the East African Shilling, and they, too, minted and spent Maria Theresa Thalers. By the operation of Gresham's Law, however, Maria Theresa Thalers were largely driven out of circulation, so that few were actually used in commercial transactions.

The official rate of exchange was two Shillings to one Thaler. On account of the special preference for Thalers, as well as the intrinsic value in terms of its silver content, prices of Shillings began to fall, and the market rate for the Maria Theresa Thaler soon became three Shillings. Because of the shortage of Maria Theresa Thalers in the hands of merchants and rising prices in terms of East African Shillings, it became more and more difficult for exporters to buy goods from producers at a price at which they could export profitably. The adverse effect of this situation on the country's exports, before which both the Bank and the Government were powerless since they had no control over the supply of either currency, necessitated currency reform. To accomplish this, the Government authorized the State Bank to issue a National Ethiopian currency.

Designed in accordance with the principles of the Bretton Woods Agreement, adopted in the preceding year by the representatives of 44 nations, the Ethiopian dollar was introduced with its value expressed in terms of gold. The statutory basis of the new currency is the Currency

and Legal Tender Proclamation, 1945, published in the Negarit Gazeta on the 29th of May, 1945. According to this Proclamation, the monetary unit in Ethiopia is the Ethiopian Dollar (Eth. $), equal in value to 5.52 grains of fine gold and divided into one hundred cents. A rate of exchange of one Eth. $ = 40.25 United States cents or two Shillings Sterling was established and has been maintained.

The reserve against notes is required to consist of "gold, silver and foreign currencies, bank balances or prime securities readily convertible into foreign currency or bank balances to a minimum extent of 75%." In addition, provision is made for issuance of Imperial Treasury obligations to a maximum extent of 25% of the Currency reserve fund, but the Treasury has never availed itself of this right in full.

On the date that the Currency and Legal Tender Proclamation came into force, July 23, 1945, the Maria Theresa Thaler ceased to be legal tender, although the East African Shillings remained legal tender during a transition period of six months. The State Bank then bought them as a commodity at rates fixed by it, and contracts made after July 23, 1945, involving the payment of any amount in Maria Theresa Thalers, were deemed unlawful. The new currency was accepted by the public beyond expectation. East African Shillings were redeemed in large quantities for the new dollar, one dollar being issued for every two Shillings redeemed. Though the public showed at the beginning some reluctance to sell Maria Theresa Thalers, large quantities have since been collected, so that the State Bank has been able to export several million pieces abroad, especially during 1947 for reminting into Ethiopian fifty cent coins.

Since the Ethiopian Currency Reform the State Bank of Ethiopia has been better able to exert its stabilizing effect on the industrial and general economic life of the country. Roughly coincident with VE Day and preceding VJ Day by a few months, it came at a time when the many restrictions on Ethiopian trade were abolished and when a strong demand for Ethiopian export products became manifest, especially in Europe and the Middle East. A remarkable expansion of exports and imports followed; new initiatives were taken in Ethiopia in various fields, such as the creation of the Ethiopian Air Lines, the Agricultural Bank, and an arranged influx of a great number of foreign advisers, teachers, medical doctors, officers and other highly qualified personnel to fulfil various tasks in Ethiopia. These new conditions which called

for unprecedented services of the Bank caused a strong expansion of nearly all its activities. Letters of credit rose about 400% up to 1947; loans and advances increased, especially merchandise loans, which represented almost one half of the total amount; commercial deposits rose to $18 million up to April, 1947; savings accounts, an innovation, also rose to an appreciable extent; there are now ten branches besides the Head Office; cooperating with all agencies, the State Bank of Ethiopia binds together, stimulates, and is the pulse of the economic life of the country.

The following table shows the condition of the State Bank as of the month-end of March, 1950 in Ethiopian dollars:

STATE BANK OF ETHIOPIA

Statement of Condition as of Month End in Ethiopian Dollars

BANKING DEPARTMENT ASSETS*

	February	*March*
Cash	1,726,869.67	1,625,004.01
Balances Abroad	5,204,862.25	6,830,085.10
Branches	38,406.21	572,807.90
Loans and Advances	25,014,372.06**	22,962,301.54**
A/c Receivable	384,665.59	427,844.66
Furniture & Equipment	252,482.97	259,521.64
Investments	184,333.56	184,839.71
Real Estate	1,128,475.54	1,128,475.54
Customers' Liability		
A/c Credits Opened	1,678,950.58	1,511,881.66
Expenses	138,937.54	208,690.27
Sub Total–Banking Dept.	35,675,533.55	35,711,452.03

ISSUE DEPARTMENT ASSETS

Note Currency Reserve		
Bullion Gold	6,244,423.12	7,370,511.36
Bullion Silver	10,887,494.75	11,106,244.36
Foreign Balances & Currency	6,779,957.38	7,619,281.57
Treasury Bills	9,247,298.15	9,247,298.15
Foreign Securities	12,247,020.65	12,247,020.65
Imperial Ethiopian		
Coin Issue Account	29,582,608.32	29,775,708.32

Deposits with Banking Dept.	772,771.17	712,346.71
Note Issue Expense A/c	15,606.44	26,030.90
Interest earned not collected	15,457.41	
Sub Total–Issue Dept.	75,742,637.39	78,104,442.41
TOTAL ASSETS	111,418,170.94	113,815,894.44
BANKING DEPARTMENT LIABILITIES*		
Capital	2,000,000.00	2,000,000.00
Surplus	2,825,000.00	2,825,000.00
Reserve for contingencies &		
Doubtful items	441,417.81	438,880.31
Deposits	24,889,940.68**	24,876,041.03**
Loans Payable	3,415,000.00	3,415,000.00
Payments & Drafts Outstanding	239,409.33	362,351.92
Bank's Liability		
A/c Credits Opened	1,678,950.58	1,511,881.68
Earnings	185,815.15	282,297.11
Sub Total–Banking Department	35,675,533.55	35,711,452.03
ISSUE DEPARTMENT LIABILITIES		
Notes Issued	46,024,902.00	48,178,502.00
Coins Issued	29,582,608.32	29,775,708.32
Notes Issue Income A/c		15,105.02
Profit	135,127.07	135,127.07
Sub Total—Issue Dept.	75,742,637.39	78,104,442.41
TOTAL LIABILITIES	111,418,170.94	113,815,894.44

Notes:—* Not consolidated with Branches, Head Office only.
**Including Government accounts, gross figures.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

Communications

In any discussion about a modern State, Communications, most necessarily, plays an important role. Moreover, when backward areas are referred to, this problem of contact with speed and in safety bears a very large part of the burden. In the period of isolation which antedates the unification of the country under Menelik II, Ethiopians thought it wise to keep very few arteries of communication, in the hope that the enemy would be faced with hardships in penetrating the country in order to conquer it. Thus, they utilized the mountainous terrain and the impassable gorges and escarpments as a barrier to the invader. Frankly, these natural barriers played a tremendous part in keeping Ethiopia free and independent. Came the time, however, when the progressive leaders of the people got to realize that such a condition had the adverse effect of suppressing contact and of delaying the clock of modernization of their land. Menelik II, therefore, sensed the necessity of building roads and providing other methods of communication to aid in local commerce. When the capital was moved from the Entoto heights to 'Finfinnie,' the present Addis Ababa, the idea had crystallized that communications also had a salubrious effect.

During his Regency, Haile Selassie First pressed this reform heavily, and at the time of the Italian invasion in 1935, there were 4,000 kilometers, about 2,500 miles of dry weather motor roads, in the country. Taking over only 35 miles of macadamized roads, connecting Addis Ababa to Addis Alem, in five years the new regime had increased the medium of road communications over seventy-fold. To be specific, it was possible before the end of the war, to motor from Addis Ababa through Dessie to Lake Ashange, through Fiche to the Blue Nile, to Ambo, to Jimma, to Magga and to Harar. A road ran from Dire Dawa through Harar and Jijjiga to the frontier of British Somaliland and there was also a road from Bure to Gambela.

During their occupation, the Italians spent large sums of money in road-making. Their objective was speed, and high costs did not deter their effort. Frequently they followed the traces of the former roads; but just as frequently a new line was taken to ensure easy gradients and curves. During the five years of His Majesty's ascendancy before the invasion, the Ethiopian road-makers were kept timid because of the enormous cost of building and maintaining a modern road system. It is no exaggeration to say that since the liberation, the same consideration has slowed down the pace of road communications expenditure. The question which arose after His Majesty's return was which of the roads had priority according to need. In this way, a great deal of the highways of the post-occupation period was neglected, awaiting adequate revenue for the Ministry of Public Works to tackle the job.

In the interim, however, all the main roads were kept in a fair state of repairs by the Ethiopian Government, many of them were subject to major repairs, and between 1948 and 1950, some new roads joining vital sections of the country were constructed. In November, 1950, the Ethiopian Government raised a loan of 5,000,000 United States dollars, and under the new Highway Authority with World Bank specialists cooperating, over-all maintenance of the net-work has begun. The effect of this new organization is expected to be the training of local man power for repair and maintenance of the nation's roads, for modern road building and maintenance is a specialized field in which Ethiopians have not had the opportunity to train and qualify.

Of the road potential which was left by the Italians, it must be considered that because of the wear and tear of war, much of it was rendered practically useless when the enemy was expelled. Not only were many of the roads destroyed, but many of the bridges across the rivers were blown up or otherwise willfully destroyed by the enemy on his rout. Since the major part of Ethiopia's commercial transport is overland, the Government, as fast as it could rebuild bridges, endeavored to keep open the main outlets to trade. Of the several bridges constructed and repaired, must be mentioned those of one across the Gibbe and the other over the Blue Nile (Abbai) Rivers. It is significant that the material which went into the construction of the former, called the Menelik II Bridge, was brought to Ethiopia by Emperor Menelik with the express purpose of bridging the Blue Nile. Haile Selassie First, however, after the liberation, thought that a larger and more modern structure should be thrown across the Abbai, and ordered that the metal

and other materials be used to span the Gibbe River. This bridge was opened for traffic in April, 1949.

The following are the roads now available for traffic, all-weather roads being distinguished by "A" from those that can only be used in the dry weather, November to May, which are marked "D." The distances between places, from the one terminus and from the other, are given along some of the routes, in kilometres.

I. 1. Addis Ababa–Asmara (A)

Addis Ababa			1081
Shano	76	76	1005
Dabra Birhan	52	128	953
Dabra Sina	67	195	886
Jarra	101	296	785
Kambolsha	79	375	706
Dessie	25	400	681
Lake Haiq	28	428	653
Waldiya	92	520	561
Qobbo	47	567	514
Alamata	32	599	482
Kworam	19	618	463
Mai Chau	43	661	420
Beta Marra			
Madhane Alam	54	715	366
Kwiha	56	771	310
Wiqiro	37	808	273
Addigrat	77	885	196
Senafe	61	946	135
Asmara	135	1081	

2. Kambolsha–Assab (A)

Kambolsha			485
Bati	41	41	444
Alohe	44	85	400
Mille	53	135	347
Tnedao	44	182	303
Sardo	53	235	250
Bobbi	50	285	200
Ilidar	40	325	160
Manda	60	385	100
Ela (Dabaissima)	43	428	57

Assab	57	485	

3. Dessie–Magdala–Zabit–Dabra Tabor–Yifag–Gondar (D)

356

4. Kwiha–Maqale (A)

12

5. Addigrat–Gondar (A)

Addigrat			496
Addi Abuna	109	109	387
Aksum	24	135	363
Inda Sillase	64	197	299
Addi Gabrayu	44	241	255
Takkaze	12	253	243
Addi Arqai	65	318	178
Debibar	63	381	115
Dabat	39	419	76
Gondar	76	496	

6. Gondar–Gorgora (A)

60

II. 1. Addis Ababa–Abbai (A); Abbai–Yifag (D)

Addis Ababa			703
Fichche	110	110	593
Goha Tsiyon	75	185	518
Shifartaq (Abbai)	28	213	490
Wisha Tirs	21	234	469
Dabra Marqos	70	304	399
Dangila	235	539	164
Bahr Dar	84	623	80
Yifag	80	703	

2. Dabra Marqos–Bichana–Bahr Dar (D)

III. 1. Addis Ababa–Laqemti (A); Laqemti–Gambela (D)

Addis Ababa			723
Ambo	127	127	596
Gudar	15	142	581
Gedo	60	202	521
Sire	78	280	443
Laqemti	58	338	385

Gimbi	135	473	250
Yubdo	73	546	177
Dambidollo	137	683	40
Gambela	40	723	

2. Laqemti–Bedele (D); 108 km.

3. Gimbi–Hososa (D); 245 km.

IV. 1. Addis Ababa–Jimma–Saqa (A); Saqa–Maji (D)

Addis Ababa			697
Waliso	112	112	585
Walqitte	40	152	545
Abbalti	48	200	497
Sokorro	51	251	446
Jimma	96	347	350
Saqa	18	365	332
Gojab	64	429	268
Bonga	38	467	230
Maji	230	697	

2. Jimma—Gambela (D); 422 km.

Mojo			749
Makki	85	85	664
Shashamanne	105	190	559
Yirga Alam	68	258	491
Wando	15	273	476
Agara Mariam	136	409	340
Yaballo	108	517	232
Megga	108	625	124
Mayyale	124	749	

2. Wando–Adola (A); Adola–Nagelle (D); Nagelle–Dolo (A)

Wando			615
Adola	132	132	483
Nagelle	118	250	365
Dolo	365	615	

3. Nagelle–Megga (D); 230 km.

VI. 1. Addis Ababa–Dirre Dawa–Jijjiga (A)

Addis Ababa			**613**

Aqaqi	17	17	596
Dukam	16	33	580
Ada	11	44	569
Mojo	22	66	547
Adama	29	95	518
Wilinchiti	26	121	492
Awash	103	224	389
Mieso	78	302	311
Afdam	40	342	271
Erer	53	395	218
Dire Dawa	58	453	160
Harar	55	508	105
Jijjiga	105	613	

2. Adama–Asalla (D).
3. Mieso—Asba Tafari—Dadar—Qarsa (A); 204 km.
4. Dire Dawa—Aisha (A) 221 km.; Aisha—French Somaliland Border (A).
5. Jijjiga–British Somaliland border (A).
6. Jijjiga–Ferfer (A); 728 km.

In June of the same year, the materials having arrived for the building of the Abbai Bridge, His Imperial Majesty laid the foundation stone. Completed a year after, this, the largest span in Ethiopia, was opened, and joins the provinces of Shoa, Beghemdir and Gojjam. It is said that this Blue Nile Bridge is built near to a place where the Emperor passed with his men on his return in 1941; it was his promise then that as soon as the Government was able, this span would be bridged. It is characteristic of the road net-work in the country that it is crossed by many rivers and streams, which necessitates the construction of many bridges of varying sizes.

Transportation still remains one of the principal problems in Ethiopia's modernization. For a country so vast, and besides, so mountainous, enormous sums of money are required to keep viable road communications. The rolling stock which consists of automotive and diesel units comprise some that were left by the Italians and many others imported into the country since. A railway net-work will serve immeasurably in the economic and trade development of the country, since many very fertile and otherwise productive areas lie far away from the capital or from markets. Railway building, however, is a very expensive

proposition which must await the methods by which to finance such a venture.

There is only the Franco-Ethiopian Railway which connects the capital to Jibouti, in French Somaliland, as the rail link between Ethiopia and a port. In 1894, Menelik II granted to M. Ilg, a Swiss engineer, a concession to build a railway from Jibouti to Harar, from Harar to Entoto, then the site of the capital, and from Entoto to Kafa and the White Nile. In 1897, a company was formed under the name of "Compagnie Imperiale des Chemins de Fer Ethiopiens" to build the first section which was completed in 1904, with Dire Dawa as the terminus. In 1907, the company went into liquidation, and the following year, Menelik II transferred the concession to a new company under the name of "Compagnie du Chemin de Fer Franco-Ethiopien de Djibouti a Addis Abeba (C.F.E.)." The work on the second section, between Dire Dawa and Addis Ababa, was started by this new company in 1912, and services between Jibouti and the capital began in 1917. Had the original plan been carried out, the railway, though now of obsolete construction, would have served a vast and vital commercial area of the country.

This railway which is 490 miles long, with 61 miles of its run in French Somaliland, is a single-track meter-gauge line. During the Italo-Ethiopian war, this railway in the hands of a foreign government, proved very inconvenient to the Ethiopians in their national defense. It did not fall into the hands of the Italians, but the transportation of arms to equip the Ethiopian army was difficult. Even after the liberation, the operation of this railway presented major difficulties to Ethiopian trade. For the whole of 1942, the adherence of Jibouti to the Vichy Government denied Ethiopia the use of the coastal section of the railway and the use of the port of Jibouti. At that time export traffic by rail stopped at Dire Dawa or Aisha and was carried to the coast by light trucks for shipment through the British Somali ports of Berbera and Zeila.

During the brief period of British occupation, immediately following the expulsion of Italy, the administration of the railway was taken over by the British Military Authority and later returned to its pre-war control. In 1946, the control of the Franco-Ethiopian Railway Company was transferred to the Ethiopian Government which still administers it today. A very odd fact about the operation of this rail line is that freight charges are inordinately high. State Bank authorities reported in 1947 that it costs more to transport a bag of cement from Jibouti to Addis

Ababa than for the same item from Sweden to Jibouti. Yet Jibouti is the port through which most of Ethiopian foreign commerce passes; a condition readily reflected in the cost of imported goods within the country. The rolling stock of the line still needs renewal; and, despite its high rates, if it were extended to other parts of Ethiopia, a partial answer could be found for the inadequacy of railway accommodations from which the country suffers.

Following is a table of stations and distances, "R" marking those at which the trains stop long enough for the passengers to have a meal since there are no dining cars. The names are according to the French system of transliteration; those according to the English are found in brackets when different. Distance is computed by kilometers.

Name of Station	*Distances Between Stations*	*Distances from Addis Ababa*	*Distances from Jibouti*
Addis Abeba (Addis Ababa)			784
Akaki	22	22	762
Doukam (Dukam)	20	42	742
Addas (Ada)	10	52	732
Modjo (Mojo) "R"	24	76	708
Hadama (Adama)	27	103	681
Oualenketi (Wilinchiti)	24	127	657
Bortchotta (Borchota)	23	150	634
Melka Djilo (Malka Jilo)	17	167	617
Metahara (Matahara)	38	205	579
Aouache (Awash) R.	31	236	548
Arba	30	266	518
Khora (Kwora)	22	288	496
Mehesso (Mieso)	35	323	461
Moulou (Mulu)	11	334	450
Afdem (Afdam) R.	29	363	421
Bicket (Bike)	26	389	395
Gotha (Gota)	18	407	377
Errer (Erer)	7	414	370
Ourso (Hurso)	32	446	338
Dire Daoua (Dirre Dawa) R.	27	473	311
El-Bah (El Bahe)	20	493	291
Harraoua (Harawa)	25	518	266
Mello	17	535	249

Adagalla (Addigala)	47	582	202
Lassarat (Lasarat)	40	622	162
Aicha (Aisha) R.	16	638	146
Adele (Adale)	14	652	132
Daouenle (Dawale) (frontier Station)	26	678	106
Ali-Sabiet	17	695	89
Dasbiou	18	713	71
Holl-Holl	19	732	52
Chebele	33	765	19
Djibouti (Jibuti)	19	784	

As stated before, Ethiopia is a land of contrast, this most visible in her communications and transportation facilities. In addition, the habits of the people are ably suited for evolution rather than revolution. Thus, there can be found existing together and at one and the same time, the donkey, the camel, the mule, the horse, lake craft, the truck, the automobile and the airplane as elements of communication and transport. It is an everyday occurrence to see men and women leading teams of pack-animals laden with produce going to the markets or returning to their homes, some having come from long distances. Multi-ton trucks do a substantial part of the hauling of both freight and passengers, plying between the interior and the capital and taking their load to rail heads or to the ports that service the international trade. The Ethiopian Airlines Incorporated, the newest and most modern accretion, not only connects many parts of the interior with Addis Ababa, but is today flying on international routes carrying passengers and freight.

One of the major steps forward in the process of modernizing Ethiopia must be considered the Ethiopian Air Lines Incorporated, which brought the country into participation in the air age. Times were when the Ethiopian flag traversed the sea and solidified contacts with the outside world. This was the age of Greater Ethiopia, now recorded in the pages of the country's ancient history. Today this flag and the national emblem of the country of Ham alights on the air fields of other nations, strengthening her international contacts. A contract was signed on September 8, 1945, between the Ethiopian Government and the Transcontinental and Western Airlines, Incorporated, now the Trans World Airlines (TWA) which provided for the establishment of the Ethiopian Air Lines, Incorporated (EAL). The Ethiopian Govern-

ment agreed to finance the Airline by issuing 100% of the Capital Stock of 2,500,000 Ethiopian dollars, making available immediately 1,000,000 Ethiopian dollars. This latter sum was to secure aircraft and spare parts and for maintenance through the Foreign Liquidation and as working capital. TWA agreed to supply flight crews, mechanics, administrative personnel and the technical know-how to run the enterprise.

The maiden scheduled passenger flight of the EAL took place on the 25th of March, 1946, to Cairo, Egypt. Its aircraft capital at that time was ten C-47 aircraft (DC-3), also known as "Dakotas," purchased from the United States Army surplus stock in Cairo. Three of these were later converted into "luxury liners" with comfortable seats for passengers. One of the ten Dakotas was used for additional spare parts; and since then, many spare engines, accessories and varied equipment have been flown in from time to time for the Maintenance Department.

Facilities to meet the expansion of the EAL service have been recently increased by the acquisition of two modern "Convair" Airliners which arrived in Addis Ababa on December 27th, 1950. The Ethiopian Government has acquired these new planes to bring the passenger service in line with modern requirements of speed and comfort. The Convairs seat 38 passengers, as compared with 21 in the earlier type, and can travel 100 miles per hour faster. The cabins of the new planes being equipped with automatic pressurizing apparatus, they are able to rise higher over turbulent areas, thus providing better travelling conditions for passengers. They combine many of the safety features recently developed in modern airplane construction.

The transaction in the purchase of the two new Convair Airliners and additional maintenance supplies for these planes involved a total payment of 1,750,000 United States dollars through a loan from the Export-Import Bank of Washington, D. C., of which the sum of U.S. $437,500 was paid for in cash by the Ethiopian Government. Approximately 19% of the total amount was carried as a loan by the vendors of the planes and spare parts.

The operations of EAL began in 1946, on a route network of 2,320 international and 255 domestic unduplicated route miles. Ever since that time there has been continuous expansion of regular airline service, both to many places within the country and to foreign aerodromes. It now serves 6,055 international and 3,035 domestic unduplicated route miles, extending to Karachi, Pakistan, to the east, Cairo, Egypt, to the

north and Nairobi, Kenya, to the south. A very mountainous country, Ethiopia now finds a partial solution to the problem of integration and penetration through EAL. At present the domestic routes are operated to 14 locations within the country, namely, Addis Ababa, Asosa, Bahar Dhar, Debre Marcos, Dembidollo, Dire Dawa, Ghinner, Goba, Gondar, Gore, Hosana, Himma, Neghelli and Soddu. Since the beginning of its operations the EAL has flown over five million miles, which is equal to approximately 200 trips around the world. In addition, Interline Traffic Agreements have been negotiated with all the major airlines of the world. As things now stand, it is possible to purchase a ticket in Addis Ababa using Ethiopian currency for a trip around the world.

The EAL has had an enviable record since its first scheduled flight in 1946. This fact is due to the able manner in which the company is managed and particularly to the outstanding service, often unselfishly rendered by the personnel in the air and on the ground in all types of weather. The bands of isolation have been completely broken by this international air service, and the advertising value of the enterprise is being daily felt.

The improvement of traffic facilities has been given much thought and effort. The central runway at the Addis Ababa terminus has been extended to 5,600 feet of solid pavement, the EAL making preparation to adapt it to emergency landings at night by the addition of patterned flood-lighting, and to construct a new passenger terminal there. When visibility is poor, pilots can depend on radio beacons which are installed at Addis Ababa, Awash, Jimma, Gore, Debre Marcos and Gondar, and on the radio-telephones at Dire Dawa and Dembidollo. Through surveys and other expansion methods the management seeks to increase the number of flight locations within the country.

The EAL contract provides for the training of suitable Ethiopian personnel to do the job of eventually running the enterprise. Already many of these are holding responsible positions in the Traffic, Maintenance, Accounting, Stores, Communications and Operating Departments. A training program has been organized for the purpose of using well-qualified pilots from the Imperial Air Force in the service of EAL as co-pilots. Likewise, under the auspices and with the assistance of instructors and equipment from the International Civil Aviation Organization, in which Ethiopia is a member, a thorough training program is expected soon to begin to teach mechanical and

electrical maintenance, radio, communication and meteorology to specially qualified students.

What would have seemed fantastic only a few years ago is that one can breakfast in Addis Ababa and have supper in Cairo, 1,600 miles away, as the crow flies, or *vice versa*. Cairo or Addis Ababa bound surface travellers must spend eight to ten weary days in stuffy railway coaches and in hot ship cabins before reaching their destination. Within Ethiopia itself, it is heartening how quickly the people have become air-minded. Internal flights have been and are expanding rapidly and the patronage of the public for this service has shown a steady increase.

Postal, telegraphic and telephonic communications in Ethiopia which were first introduced by Menelik II have seen an appreciable improvement in the period in question. In 1894 he issued the first postage stamp for use in a service organized and run by the French in connection with the railway, for which the concession was then granted. The postal service was taken over by the Ethiopian Government with the assistance of a French Mission; in November of the same year Ethiopia became a member of the International Postal Union. Up to the Italo-Ethiopian war all the postal facilities for letters and packages abroad were provided and there was postal communication by runner from Addis Ababa to the larger provincial centers. Since the liberation, May 5th, 1941, the reorganized postal services have been considerably enlarged and it is now easy to have through service to all important sections of the country and to all parts of the world. With the coming of Ethiopia's own air transport facilities, besides contract with the British Overseas Airways, trans-world airmail operates twice weekly in and out of Addis Ababa.

Ethiopian postage stamps can be obtained in denominations from one cent to ten dollars in unlimited issues, and many commemorative issues have been struck which are of great interest to philatelists. For instance, in March of 1948, a comemorative series of postage stamps was issued recognizing the stature of the late Franklin Delano Roosevelt, former President of the United States. Between Mr. Roosevelt and His Imperial Majesty, as head of States, and the United States and Ethiopia during the Presidency of the late President, existed strong and tangible bonds of strong fraternity. In addition to his deserving claim to the recognition of the peace-loving peoples of the world everywhere, it is this relation which occasioned the issuance of the Roose-

velt commemorative postage stamps on which the portraits of Mr. Roosevelt and His Majesty the Emperor are engraved. A deep regard for the personal qualities of the noted American leader is cherished by Haile Selassie First who had the opportunity of meeting the former in the Bitter Lakes in 1945, a memento of which meeting, an autographed picture of President Roosevelt, remains permanently on His Imperial Majesty's desk.

The General Post Office, located in the heart of Addis Ababa, is a very busy place and Ethiopians fill all posts with the exception of advisers in special fields. Branch Post Offices dot the whole country and in parts of the land where the railway does not touch, trucks and buses transport the mail. All types of postal services known in other parts of the world are available, except that as yet there is no postal delivery service except for notices for registered mail. In the G.P.O. there are a large number of post boxes which serve those who are able to pay an annual fee for them. For rates and other particulars application could be made to the G.P.O., Addis Ababa, where information is readily obtainable.

The contribution of Menelik's regime to the telegraphic service of the country could be considered merely incipient. Up to 1935, the only internal telegraph lines were those provided by the railway to Dire Dawa and an extension from there to Harar. Today, telegraphic communication exists through to most of the principal outlying centers, and the training of a large group of Ethiopians in sending and receiving code has added greatly to the efficiency of the service. Ethiopians know the business of running telegraphic wires and cables and are doing remarkably well. For instance, in 1947, the old lines connecting Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa-Harar were found to be in a state of disrepair; in fact, the wires needed replacing. One hundred workers under the direction of Ato Tesfaye Meratch completely renewed the 320 miles of wiring, utilizing over a thousand pounds of wire, 18,000 insulators and 9,000 poles to do the job. Short supply of materials has most frequently delayed the extension and repair of the nation's telegraphic communications. With the million and a half dollars just borrowed from the World Bank, a system worthy of the age will eventually evolve.

Until 1933 telegraphic communication abroad was dependent on an Italian landline to Asmara, whence telegrams were sent on by cable. In October of the same year, however, a small wireless transmitter

was erected in Addis Ababa by which messages were sent to Cairo and forwarded further by Marconi. In January, 1935, a large station, capable of world-wide transmission, was opened at Akaki; this was damaged by the Italians, but is now rebuilt and in use. With foreign technical advice, the Ministry of Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones was able to keep open and expand international telegraphic communications, so that ordinary, deferred and night letter telegrams could always be sent.

Direct telegraphic communication is maintained thrice daily with New York, and through a teletype line direct to Washington, D. C., from New York, messages can be relayed to the capital of the United States without interruption. It is anticipated to make Addis Ababa, because of its ideal location for telegraphic activity, a relay station, for all adjoining territories, to the United States and other countries. The influence of the International Bank loan will surely be felt in this direction.

When Menelik II ruled Ethiopia there was a net-work of telephone lines which enabled communication between the capital and all parts of the country. They existed practically in every town of importance and in every province. This was natural because in his process of unification contact had to be maintained in the kingdoms brought into this union. These telephones were also used to send telegrams, with urban exchanges in such places as Addis Ababa, Dessie, Harar, Dire Dawa and Jimma. There is a modern central telephonic exchange in Addis Ababa with experienced operators providing fairly efficient service to the public. The rates per month for telephones are: private, in homes, $8; hospitals and missions, $10; and business, $15, at this writing.

Ethiopia today is not far behind in radio broadcasting. There are at present operating four stations: the Press and Information station; the Jimma, the Akaki and the Imperial Bodyguard stations. Each of these is used both for broadcasting programs and for receiving code. There is now in formation a National Radio Board, which will be charged with coordinating the use of air time in the country. It is through these stations that Ethiopia keeps her ears open to what is taking place in the outside world, the era of isolation having been put solidly behind. Programs are offered for the local and foreign radio audiences in Amharic, English, French, Arabic and sometimes in other tongues. Through these facilities, the local press receives its news services although there is no free press at this time in the country. All publications are either government sponsored or are subject to a sort of review before their material is published.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

Law and Justice

Among the fascinating phases of Ethiopian life is its system of courts and the dispensing of justice. When it is considered that Ethiopia is one of the most ancient nations, it is at once explainable that the rule of law has its roots deeply embedded in the distant past. It is recorded and accepted, as the earlier pages of this book have shown, that the country is a conglomeration of many tribal strains which, over centuries, were assimilated into the present ethnographic pattern. Of the various waves of immigrants which coalesced and settled in this land, each, it is natural, brought with them some of their mores, customs and traditions. From these groups and from the aborigines have come the customary laws that run through the system of jurisprudence extant there today. As the streams of culture became joined, both through the period of rivalry, up to and through the era of political solidarity, the customary law became affected by this diversity.

Added to all this, must be the various dynastic remnants of authority by which the kingdoms were ruled, and the later joining together of these fragments into what is today the Empire of Ethiopia. So far as the law is concerned, by which the society is ordered, the main currents spring from the "Fetha Negest" (the Book of the King), superimposed on the most widely recognized and accepted customary rules, and given the moral blessing of the Church.

The "Fetha Negest," accepted by the Church as one of the Holy Books, is a compilation of some laws and tracts of laws, and divided into fifty-one chapters, twenty-two of which deal with Church Rules, and twenty-nine with Civil and Criminal Laws. The headings of the chapters are: Concerning the Church and what is expected of her; Concerning the Divine Books which should be considered as Canonical; Concerning Christening; the Patriarchs; the Bishops; the Priests; the Deaconship; the Under-Deaconship; Concerning all Priests; Commandments and injunctions for all believers; the Monks and the Nuns; the Mass; the Eucharist; the Prayer; the fasting; the alms; the

Administration of the income of the Church; Concerning the tenths, the first fruits, the wish and the pious foundations; the Holy-days; the Martyrs, the confessors and the renegades; the sick; the martyrs; Concerning food, clothing, dwellings and professions suitable for Christians; marriage, the dowry and matrimony; the prohibition of concubinage; the donation; loan, mortgage and bail; loan free from interest or the benefit use; the deposit; the power of attorney and the commission; liberty, slavery and emancipation; the guardianship; purchase and selling; the Society; constraining a person by force of violence; tenancy; roads, ground plots, buildings, water, etc.; the community; the confession of faith; lost and disappeared things; the will; the inheritance; the judge and witnesses; Concerning the worshippers, blasphemers and wizards; about murder; about sexual relations; thieves; Concerning drunkards, usurers, the disobedient son, the abused; Concerning the circumcision and the religious customs.

For some time the Fetha Negest was the Law of the land, but for a period of time now, it has receded into the realm of Church Law and the courts do not usually apply it. In no case in the High Court, for instance, is the Fetha Negest applied by itself; it is applied only in cases in which the custom coincides with what is written in the Fetha Negest, which occurs especially in matters of inheritance and succession.

In regions where the custom in matters of succession and inheritance coincides with what is written in the Fetha Negest, this ancient law applies; otherwise, the customary law prevails. This apart, during the centuries, so many learned and other interpretations of what is written in the Fetha Negest have accumulated, that it is difficult to strike agreement on its application in the courts. For example: Some judges hold that the true interpretation of the Laws of the Fetha Negest dealing with succession is that an illegitimate child does not inherit from the estate of a deceased who died intestate, while other judges hold that the true interpretation of those laws in such matters is that the child does inherit if the deceased had acknowledged the child before his death. Both schools of thought, however, hold that such a child is entitled to inherit that part of the estate left to him in a will.

The preface of the Ethiopian penal Code of 1930, contains this passage by His Imperial Majesty:

"The reason why We have caused a revision to be made of the Law concerning damages for abuse and serious injury and concerning the punishment to takers of life and all other criminals is because We have noted on the eighth page of the preface of the Fetha Negest the principle underlying the orders of the Three Hundred which they gave in the Fetha Negest in the words, 'act according to your observations of the conditions of times and seasons.'"

One of the vital spheres of the unification was that of authority—an authority, one and indivisible. The ultimate as well as original authority resides in the person of the Sovereign, the institution from which the centrifugal jurisdiction flows. Thenceforward the whole gamut of the Law, whether customary or statutory, derives its force and authority from the Monarch. As instance, going back to 1931, when the Constitution was granted to the people as a free-will gift of His Imperial Majesty, it was a delegation of power and authority in the interest of good governance and in which the people were invited to be partners with the Sovereign in the exercise of this original power and authority. Since this authority and power were given to the people voluntarily, both in theory and in practice this power and authority are exercised in his name—the Emperor, in essence, remaining supreme.

In the evolution of the customary law of Ethiopia, it is interesting to note that the ancient distinctions in differing community life have left their impress indelible on the system. The courts in the outlying districts probably remain in their functional characteristics much like those which operated for centuries before. Thus, the itinerant court, meeting in the market place or in some outdoor centre, carries the same weight among the people of the community as it did long before the birth of modern Ethiopia. Methods of detecting crime and falsehood, even methods of punishment, in some areas, stem from what was believed to be sufficient for several generations before. Like the Justices of the Peace in old-time Britain, many a judge in the urban sections of the country is both judge and adviser. His is a task irrevocably interwoven with all phases of the community life, and not relegated only to disputes or interpretation of the Law. The community morals are in his hands, time and again he acting as referee, arbiter, counsellor and all, at one and the same time. In olden times, the district judge officiated at birth and at death, was a respected leader of his community

and the keeper of its conscience. Briefly, these are some of the roots of the ancient law of the kingdoms, with an uncanny resemblance in parts divided by space never before gapped.

Since law is like an organism of growth by accumulation, a very large body of customary law has sprung up in Ethiopia. Even today while the Civil Code is being worked out, most civil cases are adjudicated by recourse to the customary law. This first half of the Twentieth Century has seen a tremendous amount of written precedents, from which the new Civil Code is being compiled. Foreign legal principles are heavily applied in commercial cases. There is an Ethiopian Penal Code which was compiled in the year of His Imperial Majesty's Coronation that governs all criminal matters. During the Italian occupation, an Italian Penal Code was introduced which, at times, is still used by the Courts. It has been decreed that all Ethiopians must be tried under the Ethiopian Penal Code; but foreign residents may elect either, the High Court having the discretion to permit or disallow the choice. The Ministry of Justice, with the advice of trained legal officers, is now completing a new Ethiopian Penal Code to supersede the one of 1930.

Since 1931, new laws and amendments to existing ones must be discussed by the Ethiopian Parliament. Under a system of government in which there is Cabinet supremacy, the Ministers' Council exercises transcendent influence in the passing of workable legislation. In fact, as it works out, according to their departmental interests and in conjunction with the Ministers' Council, impending legislation may originate with them or be reviewed by them before they are introduced into Parliament as bills for passing. There is a Legislative Consultative Committee, of which the Judicial Adviser and the President of the High Court are ex-officio members, which aids in the proper formulation of the laws. No law can be enacted without the assent of His Majesty the Emperor, after which it is published in the Official Gazette (Negarit Gazeta) in the form of a Proclamation.

The judicial system of present day Ethiopia was reorganized by Proclamation, "The Administration of Justice Proclamation 1942." In and by it the structure, functions and jurisdiction of some of the courts were set out.

The courts were classified as follows: The Supreme Imperial Court; the High Court; the Provincial Courts; Regional and Communal Courts.

The Supreme Imperial Court, presided over by the 'Afa Negus' (Voice of the King) or his Deputy, sits with the two other judges nominated by the President of the High Court from among the judges of that Court who did not participate in the original trial of the case. Appeals from the High Court, sitting as a court of first instance, go to the Supreme Imperial Court. The theory behind the name of the presiding judge, the 'Afa Negus' (Voice of the King), lies in the fact that supreme judicial power reside in the mind of His Majesty the Emperor. The 'Afa Negus' acts directly on behalf of the Monarch, and in his office exercises the delicate responsibility of representing both the people and the Government at the same time—these are the attributes of the Sovereign. The Supreme Imperial Court is purely a court of appellate jurisdiction, as laid down in the Administration of Justice Proclamation of 1942, in these words: "to hear appeals from the High Court only." Because of the large number of appeals before this court, it now sits in several divisions, and apart from the 'Afa Negus' as President, one division is presided over by the Vice-Afa Negus and another by an Assistant President of the Supreme Imperial Court.

The High Court has original and appellate jurisdiction over all cases arising in Ethiopia. Cases within the jurisdiction of Provincial, Regional and Communal Courts may, at the desire of the accused or litigant, be moved to the High Court for hearing. As at present constituted, the High Court sits in the following divisions: 1) for the hearing of appeals from the Provincial Courts; 2) for hearing criminal matters; 3) for hearing civil and commercial matters; 4) for the hearing of Land cases; 5) for the hearing of cases brought against the Imperial Ethiopian Government or cases brought by the Imperial Ethiopian Government against defendants.

The qualification for a judge in the High Court is that he has either been a regular qualified legal practitioner, or that, by reason of long judicial experience and sound knowledge of law as certified by the Minister of Justice, he is fit to become a judge. In the re-organizing Proclamation it is provided that His Imperial Majesty may from time to time appoint persons as additional judges of the High Court for the trial of particular cases or for a special period. In cases of treason and allied offences this machinery has been used. The principle is laid down that the opinion of the majority of the Court shall always prevail. Some of the judges of the High Court are Europeans who sit as presiding judges in one or two of its divisions. Any sentence of death

by judgment of the High Court, appealed to the Supreme Imperial Court and upheld, cannot be executed unless the sentence is confirmed by His Majesty the Emperor.

The composition of the Provincial Court is the same as that of the High Court, in that three judges sit, one as President. In this Court there are no European judges; the majority opinion of the Court also prevails. Unlike the High Court, whose jurisdiction has no limit, that of the Provincial Court is especially set out and limited as follows: a) "In criminal matters, imprisonment not exceeding five years or a fine not exceeding 2,000 Ethiopian dollars, and corporal punishment not exceeding 25 lashes, or any combination of the three punishments; b) In civil matters, to cases the subject matter of which does not exceed 2,000 Ethiopian dollars. Appeals from the Regional and Communal Courts go to the Provincial Courts."

The Communal and Regional Courts sit in the districts, sub-districts, towns and villages. Their jurisdictions have not been clearly defined in the Administration of Justice Proclamation. It lays down, however, that His Imperial Majesty may establish by Warrant under his hand, other courts of criminal and civil jurisdiction which shall be subordinate to the Provincial Courts and that this Warrant will define the constitution of such a court; the area within which such a court may exercise its jurisdiction; the law to be administered by such a court and the limitation upon the jurisdiction and powers of such courts. It is further stated that appeals shall go from such a court or courts to a court that may be specified in the Warrant establishing such courts. There are many Sub-communal, Communal and Regional Courts, their jurisdiction limited to cases of a criminal nature involving fines of 25 to 500 Ethiopian dollars; in civil cases to those involving disputes over 50 to 500 Ethiopian dollars; imprisonment from under three months to one year.

Under the Law, a judgment passed in two instances is final. An appeal therefore goes from the Sub-Communal Court to a Communal Court. When a Communal Court has sat as a court of first instance, then an appeal goes from such Court to a Regional Court, and from a Regional Court sitting as a court of first instance, to a Provincial Court.

Other Courts are, Local Judges Court, Military Courts Land Board Commissions and the Kadis' Courts. Of special interest is the Land Board Commissions and the Kadis' Courts. Certain judicial power has

been given to the Land Board Commissions. The Board was set up to deal with "all claims to any lands or any rights therein acquired by the Italian Government by confiscation, expropriation or other compulsory means, whether subsequently disposed of by such Government to third parties or not." The power of this commission is consultative only. It makes its recommendations after hearing the parties and submits such recommendations to His Imperial Majesty for his decision. By Proclamation their recommendations must include: The amount of compensation, if any, that had been paid or offered to be paid by the Italian Government to the claimant; the improvements, if any, and the value of such improvements to the land in question; whether the property is required for Government purposes; whether the land was acquired by the Italian Government for political reasons; the rights of third parties, if any. The Minister of the Interior is Chairman, with the Director-General of the Department of Lands Vice-Chairman and three members appointed by His Majesty.

As proof of the religious tolerance that the Ethiopian Government extends to all its Mohammedan inhabitants, matters affecting their family life and their religious institutions are subjects of special Kadis' Courts. Established by Proclamation, a Kadi (religious judge) heads a Court dealing with the personal status and the inheritance of Mohammedans. Each Kadis' Court has territorial jurisdiction in the province in which such Court is located. Under the Chief Kadi, there was instituted a higher Court called the "Court of Shariat" with three members. This Court has recently been superseded by what is known as a "Naibas Council" carrying forward the functions of a higher Mohammedan Court.

A look at the court houses in any district, town or city will reveal the Ethiopian as very litigious. It would be no exaggeration to say that of every ten Ethiopians, one of them has some business in the courts. Principal among the cases are those which spring from the complicated system of land tenure; but, in cases of even minor altercations, the Ethiopian feels that the matter should be taken to the 'Daniya' or judge in whose judgment he is willing to repose. For this reason, among the professions, the most lucrative is that of a lawyer, called an advocate, some of them making meteoric rises to affluence.

The Ministry of Justice, headed by a Minister and a Vice-Minister, is charged with the administration of Justice. The Ministry follows the

same structure as the others and the nation's prisons are under its control. One of the innovations, since Ethiopia became a member of the League of Nations in 1923, was the engagement of qualified foreign judicial experts to assist in reforming the system of law and jurisprudence along modern lines. This policy still holds; but there are many Ethiopian youth now training in foreign universities who, in time, will be able to fill many of these positions. Moreover, since 1947, under the auspices of the Ministry of Justice law classes are conducted under the tutorship of foreign legal minds. In this way, many Ethiopian judges and legal practitioners are taking hold of the opportunity to learn the law as well to secure familiarity with the procedures used abroad.

Twentieth century Ethiopia, as in all fields of progressive endeavor, presses her intention to distil from the West those phases of social activity which have proven beneficial and to graft them with those of her own which have been tested by time and experience. Ethiopian law and jurisprudence are being shaped through practice and the body of precedents, and men are being trained to fill both bar and bench. In the classes referred to in the preceding paragraph, held in the Ministry of Justice building, are three types of students: the students' class; the advocates' class; and a class for judges. The students' group meets thrice weekly; the advocates' twice; and the Judges', recruited from the Ethiopian High Court, the Provincial and Regional Courts, also twice weekly. Law being fundamental to an ordered society the importance of the efforts of the country in this direction cannot be overemphasized.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

Education

Among the major reforms instituted to modernize the kingdom of Haile Selassie First education stands at the head. In truth and in fact, although the occupation had arrested the schooling of the Ethiopians, it could be safely said that the fruits of the system, started before that misfortune, are today most evident. It is from the educated class that remained, in spite of their decimation by the enemy, that men have been found to put into effect the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the nation after its re-establishment in 1941. Since that time the Ethiopian people and Government, under the dynamism of His Majesty the Emperor, have started the program anew with substantial progress registered. In season and out of season, he is indefatigable in calling the attention of Ethiopia to the essential need of education.

"*Agricultural and industrial pursuits are the main avenues of development of a country. It is not possible, however, to follow these pursuits only by the mere desire to do so, for desire alone cannot bring achievement: to bring the desired fruition, education is necessary. Education, therefore, is the great necessity of Our country. No real progress can be made without it—without education the national wealth cannot be increased—without it our work cannot advance. It is therefore vitally necessary to strive for education and thus for the success which it assures,*" he declared.

It is not accidental that education in Ethiopia holds first place among the Government's endeavors, and claims the undivided attention of the people. It is accepted as fundamental, both to the building of a modern State, as well as to the strengthening of its ancient cultural and spiritual moorings. Ethiopia is one of the oldest nations; yet she is among the most recent arrivals on the scene of modernization. Her ancient lore calls for preservation and a new interpretation; the

time lag in embracing Westernization calls for a well-laid educational system which shall prosecute the task with vigor and achieve, in the shortest possible time, maximum results.

The processes of culture and enlightenment which sufficed to maintain the institutions and mores of ancient Ethiopia, such as the Church Schools, are found inadequate today although they are still retained as an essential factor in Ethiopian education. The country was rudely awakened by the impact of the West, and one of the concrete reactions to this shock was that she became awakened to the acute desire and need for education. This period coincided with the reign of Menelik II, who opened the first public school in 1905. Checked by the vicissitudes of statecraft, however, it was not until Haile Selassie First became Regent of the Realm that public education took the shape of a Government reform.

The main objectives of this reform in Ethiopia have been three: First, in conformity with the need of the hour, to establish both adequate institutions for the educational care of the young (children of school age), and to make sure that these schools ensure normal spiritual, mental and physical growth to the coming generations. Secondly, in view of the interruption, in which many of the youth of the present generation had their schooling stopped, to extend the superstructure of the plan to afford as many of them as possible an opportunity to regain, at least in part, their unavoidable instructional losses. Thirdly, to further extend the system to bring, eventually, general literacy within this generation, to the entire population by means of mass education.

With all public agencies working at high pitch to achieve a modern way of life, both the moral and physical resources of the Ethiopian people and Government are constantly taxed. The essential services with which Government is charged and the extent of public response in a country changing from feudalism to modern statehood have kept the general tempo accelerated and the demand for economy most necessary. Still, education in Ethiopia, during this period of the nation's history, has held first place. Since the liberation particularly, even in periods of low revenue, the comparative figures of the budgetary allotments for Government administration show this unswerving purpose to expand and maintain the maximum public provisions for education.

It is recognized that top level educational personnel calls for special professional training and experience. So as not to check the progress begun, and in order to guarantee the best modern pedagogical technique, foreign teachers and a limited number of administrative personnel still remain essential. It is also recognized that Ethiopian education as such, would never reach its apex until such time as the educational leaders could be recruited from among the nationals of the country. A necessary part of the evolution of the country, training goes on apace, many Ethiopian youth prosecuting studies in colleges and universities abroad to meet this challenge.

The present educational system could be compared to a pyramid, at the base of which are the public schools, which are spreading throughout the length and breadth of the country. As the base broadens to attain compulsory education, as is envisaged, it will, year after year, feed the superstructure. The increase of higher level education will progressively reduce the ratio between the base and the apex until a normal symmetry is reached. In other words, today's main emphasis is on elementary schools—secondary schools increasing in number to receive their load. As secondary education gets its stride, the University College recently opened in December, 1950, will be able to accept their flow to prepare them for professional and academic education in the National University for the construction of which work has already begun.

There will be many whom this plan will not include because of certain extenuating circumstances. Had the system planned in 1931 for national education had a healthy beginning not checked by war and occupation, these 19 years would have seen appreciable advancement along this line. Had the political aims of the occupiers been to continue the plan, practically similar results would have come. This was not the case: and outside of the large percentage of adults who were yet untouched by the system up to 1934, a sizable number of school-age youth found themselves without the opportunity for schooling. These are not left out of the present general plan; but while efforts are being made to extend adult education, even to the extent of general literacy, the financial strength of the Government precludes at this time an all-out effort for a full program of adult education.

In Ethiopia of the first half of the Twentieth Century, the guiding

influence of this newer education comes primarily from the schools. The schools alone, however, cannot achieve the end in view. The sympathetic cooperation and understanding of the parent or guardian are essential. This is readily obtainable in countries with matured systems of education, as the United Kingdom, France, and the United States, among others. In Ethiopia, in the face of prevailing circumstances, this factor is even more essential. The home stands and will always stand either as an agency of opposition or cooperation in what the schools are engaged in and charged to accomplish. To rally the support of the parent or guardian in this enterprise, presupposes that they possess some measure of the newer culture. Naturally, this is a question involving a remove of at least two generations. The eagerness with which the average Ethiopian encourages his child to attend school is outstanding evidence of the ardent desire of the people to participate to the fullest in the will of the Government to raise the standard of enlightenment.

After the return of His Imperial Majesty to Addis Ababa in 1941, realizing the five years interruption in the nation's education, the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts was immediately re-instituted with whatever materials and personnel available and with a Minister at its head. The actual situation had to be met; therefore, the question of long-range planning was set aside for a later date. As the work became more measured and the horizon more defined, the matter of proper and adequate organization began to engage the attention of the Government. What has emerged up to today then, is organization in the light of the experiences gained, as well as technical and professional advice of experts brought in to serve in this capacity. This, with the enormous improvements forecast for the immediate future in Ministry organization, presents a comparatively healthy base for the execution and direction of the nation's most vital activity.

For easy analysis, the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts could be divided, in its functions, into two well-defined arms: the policy making arm and the administrative or executive. At the top, it is quite flexible, with two streams somewhat distinct but not necessarily mutually exclusive. Indeed, they work together, and in case of emergency, either can advance the work singly without impairing its efficiency. These are, the Board of Education and the Minister. The Board, appointed by His Majesty the Emperor in 1947, is of more re-

cent origin. Its five to ten members have statutory powers to guard and advance the interests of national education. Upon His Majesty's orders, the President of the Board, in concert with its members, can act with the authority of the Minister. If a Minister is not appointed, the ministerial responsibility rests with the Board under the direct authority of His Majesty the Emperor. Appointing the Board of Education in 1947, this is an excerpt of Haile Selassie's charge:

"The work that you are now ordered to achieve is above all the various duties of Our Government that will give Ethiopia and her children life. If it fails, it will bring destruction on the nation.

"From the time that We were chosen by the Lord to keep and guard the interests of Ethiopia, We have concentrated Our efforts on raising the general standard of Our people to the level of those of the advanced nations of the world. By education We shall be able to preserve Ethiopia's famous history, her liberty and her independence which Almighty God has graciously vouchsafed her. If unhindered by events this predominant aim in which We have persisted up to this time will reach its goal. Even so, by God's help, We should work diligently and concentrate Our efforts, so that Ethiopia may grow in education and the Arts. In this way she will be able to run the race together with the educated nations of the world who are still striving to build a new social order."

Charged with formulating the policy of the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, the Board of Education acts primarily in seeing that whatever educational system is instituted and maintained is in conformity with national progress and does not destroy or undermine public morals. Their statutory powers are as wide as they are important in fitting education to the general welfare of the country. In the hands of the Board rests the authority to see that from kindergarten through to the highest level, Ethiopian education achieves the purposes for which the Ethiopian Government and people are making such supreme effort—that of guaranteeing the spiritual, mental, and physical health and efficiency of the people so essential to a modern democratic state.

The constitutional provisions of the Ethiopian Government also state that a Minister, equal in rank and authority to any other Cabinet Officer, may be appointed by His Imperial Majesty to head the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts. He is the administrative head of the

Ministry, and, when he exists under this title, holds the portfolio of Education and is a Cabinet member transacting affairs of State. The highest level direction, execution and responsibility of and for Ethiopian education, is entrusted to him. In conjunction with the other Ministers in the Council of Ministers of which he is a member, he conducts the affairs of the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts within and in accordance with the legislative, judicial and administrative limits of the State and for the general welfare of the people. It is not appropriate to state all the duties of the Minister nor the many functions of his Ministry here. It is true that the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts is specifically charged with the development and extension of education within the country, and its structure is in the main similar to that of the other Ministries.

From earliest times, there has been some will towards education in Ethiopia, both ancient and modern. Before the Twentieth Century, the emphasis was on the literary side, and just enough additional to maintain the indigenous arts and crafts. There was, for some time, with exceptions during periods of foreign invasions, a firm desire to remain aloof from external contacts and to preserve a society sufficient unto the naturally limited horizon of isolation. The Church then, and for many centuries, was the strongest of the Estates; it assumed and held itself responsible for the teaching of the youth as well as guarding the morals of the whole people. It set the pattern strictly within the limits of religious mores which, of necessity, embraced education. The people were taught to read, primarily with the view of keeping them literate enough to read and understand the Scriptures. Though somewhat narrow compared with the measures of the modern era, this teaching by the Church has been responsible for the preservation of the alphabet, some part of the nation's history and for the lingual tradition of the people so evident today.

In war or peace, the people of the Kingdom lived by the rather primitive aptitudes which sufficed their forebears, almost totally oblivious of the outside march of Western Civilization. The great leaders were, for the most part, trained on the anvil of a native genius with little credit due to outside contacts. Some of them ruled well and handed down their feudal traditions of governance to succeeding generations. Their political thought and philosophy reflected, in essence, the strength of history and tradition.

But how and when did the awakening come? To a great extent

this awareness could be looked for in the repercussion of the scramble for Africa which shocked the nation out of its traditional complacency. Although because of geographical barriers Ethiopia tarried in isolation until after the half of the nineteenth century, the influence seeped in, and, even if from the unfavorable attempts at her political and economic domination, the hour was struck for this awakening. It soon became necessary, both as a means to repel the invader and as a method of counter-balancing foreign intrusion, to gradually lower the walls of isolation and let in the sparks of outside influence. The Portuguese in the modern era spearheaded the flood; in the early 20th Century, Haile Selassie First destroyed the wall completely and joined the fate and future of Ethiopia with the fate and future of the outside world. This brought added impetus to the therefore obvious need for education as both a means and an end in modernizing Ethiopia. For all practical purposes, the development of an educational system, in the modern sense of the term, began with the reign of Menelik II in 1890, a reform prosecuted assiduously by the present regime.

In retrospect, it is found that up to very recently, the picture presented scattered units—a more on-the-spot endeavor to provide modern training for the youth of the land. Both Church and State, and by Church must be included missionary efforts, which, though limited, bore some of the weight of sustaining Ethiopian education. More and more public funds began to be poured into the plan, and with the strengthening of the constitutional processes of the Government, the Ethiopian Ministry of Education and Fine Arts began to assert itself as both the director and coordinator of public education on a country-wide scale.

For a country set in its ways for these centuries, there was a back log of the traditional habits of thought against this vigorous educational reform. Parents had to be coaxed to send their children to school and the children themselves, to a large extent, had to be clothed, housed and fed to encourage them to attend classes. It was the unwavering desire of Haile Selassie First, who saw in education the answer to his dream of a progressive State controlled by the impulses of enlightenment and culture, that assured its success. In this, his will has become the popular will, the best evidence being the unusual desire for schooling today by both parent and child.

Prior to the era of educational centralization, each school was more

or less self-sufficient, with the headmaster in virtual managerial control. As the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts evolved, rules and regulations governing administration and curricula came forward. The headmasters became more and more responsible to the Ministry, or, in the provinces, to its official agents. Policy developed, and today the full flow of Ethiopia's educational activity is within the range and authority of the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts.

Highlighting this period and antecedent to the present day plan was the invitation of foreign teachers, still pursued today, so that the pupils might have the benefit of methods recognized in countries with modern educational systems. Before the Italian invasion, a period most germane to the sweeping educational effort of today, this innovation was vigorously pressed forward. With the assistance of the foreign teachers then, Ethiopian teachers had been given teacher training along modern lines and the most deserving students in this field were sent to perfect their pedagogy in foreign colleges and universities.

Because of the time lag and in face of the necessity to procure teachers for the rapid expansion of schools, the teacher training plan was put, up to recently, on an emergency footing. The courses offered constituted the basic minimum required to fill the need. In 1944, however, the Teacher Training School in Addis Ababa was opened which today is offering courses leading to a diploma in teaching and from which many pupil-teachers are graduated each year. In addition, in the provincial schools, students of promise are recruited to follow a two year course under the supervision of qualified educationists and from which a large number of rural teachers come.

In this teacher problem, Ethiopia faces a dilemma. Foreign teachers, essential as they are to the execution of the plan on a modern basis, are expensive. Ethiopia has not too lavish a flow of revenue to meet maximum requirements in this direction. It takes a long time to train substantial teachers and in a large enough number to fill the many class-rooms in the over 500 Government schools in the nation and to provide an adequate source of them for future expansion. Well-trained Ethiopian teachers are an advantage over foreign, particularly also because of language difficulties. The system, therefore, cannot be viable until the peak supply of efficient Ethiopian teachers is attained. Strong dependence is therefore placed on the National Teacher Training program and on the expectancy that a goodly number of the

Ethiopians sent out for foreign studies will take up this profession.

To assure uniformity of instructional exposure to the Ethiopian school child and to weight the index of grade requirements, curriculum and schedule have been revised and brought up-to-date. Prior to 1948, the content of courses taught in the elementary, secondary and vocational levels conformed in a measure with standards of other schools of the same range in other modern countries. This was made possible through the expert advice of foreign advisers and teachers. The system then obtaining was somewhat like that of the British in which headmasters submitted to the Ministry their schedule and curricula which, if accepted, became the guide for instruction and teaching. This method did not make for uniformity of subject matter taught in equivalent grades or levels of instruction. It was therefore difficult for students of the same grade to transfer from one school to another—a discrepancy which, in some cases, was favorable and in others unfavorable. This also allowed for teaching pet subjects, in which a British teacher would train his pupils according to the British system, a Swedish, in conformity with the method known to him, and so forth. The end of the schooling of the pupil was also affected to some extent, and the Ethiopian child found his education cast in different moulds.

In 1948, however, the Board of Education sought to have formulated a uniform curriculum for the whole country. After work by appropriate committees, a curriculum was approved and adopted covering the elementary grades, up to the sixth, which is now applied to all such schools. As a result, the teaching activity of these schools has been unified, so that whether from province to province or from school to school, pupil transfer is facilitated without the former difficulty. Since then, curricula have been approved covering up to the eighth grade in the elementary schools and secondary schools as well. Teaching thus standardized, those pupils preparing for higher education, whether at home or abroad, will have been exposed to equal quantitative and qualitative preparation within these levels of instruction.

An unusual observation in the subject coverage for the years of elementary and secondary schooling in Ethiopia is the language load. "Amharinya" is the national tongue, and is therefore compulsory from the first grade. Naturally, this language continues as a class subject up

to and through the secondary level. At the third grade in the elementary school, English, which is officially the second language of the country, is introduced. From the fifth grade the pupils are expected to use English as the medium of instruction and comprehension as well as a school subject.

The number of dialects spoken by the inhabitants of the country further aggravates the problem. A boy or girl whose parents speak nothing but say, "Gallinya," for instance, and with a basic vocabulary in that language, must start to learn "Amharinya" when he or she enters school. In this case he is at a disadvantage where his classmates come from "Amharinya" speaking regions. He has then to master the new language from its most elementary sounds and is expected to maintain the average of his classmates. Fortunately, the Ethiopian youngsters are inherently bilingual and their retardation is therefore not very evident. The language change at the third grade further handicaps him, and to be expected to use English as a medium of comprehension at the fifth, decreases the pupil's powers of absorption. This calls for a system of teaching which will stimulate the Ethiopian school child to think in English, so as to prevent him from the awkward method of thought transfer, the recognized bane in the mastery of a foreign language.

At present Ethiopian education advances to the college level, the University College having opened its doors in December of 1950. The Secondary Schools are required to prepare students for college entrance or for the living of useful lives as Ethiopian subjects. The Teacher Training Schools endeavor to equip men and women to enter the teaching profession. The Vocational Schools teach trades and other technical skills for employment in industry, commerce and agriculture. The University College is now engaged in preparing its first batch of 72 freshmen for the inter-Arts level, and is expected to be the training center for those who must enter the National University which is now being constructed. The 530 students abroad pursuing higher studies in specialized fields will go a long way in meeting the present gap for high level personnel in the nation's plan of modernization.

It is obvious that Ethiopia, a country of enormous material and spiritual potential, can never get into its full stride of modern development until there is a reasonable number of professionally trained men

and women to undertake and carry through the multiplicity of services in the elaborate machinery of a modern State. Doctors, Engineers, both social and industrial, Educationists, Lawyers, and Jurists, Architects, Archaeologists, Managerial personnel, Bankers, Economists, Political Scientists, Artists, Musicians, Chartered Accountants, Scientists, Journalists, and the host of other professionals and specially skilled nationals are a crying need. This is the great challenge to Ethiopian education—a challenge accepted by both people and Government.

Traditionally girls' schools did not, before recently, receive urgent attention. As a result the number of Ethiopian Government school children, broken down by sex, shows a great disparity in favor of boys. In this first half of the Twentieth Century, however, through the instrumentality of Their Imperial Majesties, it has been advised that boys and girls alike should receive equal educational opportunities. Her Majesty, even before the occupation, took the lead in advocating feminist education. Come the liberation, she forthwith endowed the Empress Menan Girls' School in Addis Ababa, now the largest of its kind in the nation, and since then others. Today, there is co-education in elementary schools and the Ministry of Education pays equal attention to the education of all children regardless of sex. The tradition has been broken in more ways than one: Ethiopian girls are studying abroad; their number is steadily increasing in the Government schools of the country; Ethiopian girls are enrolled in the Commercial School preparing to be secretaries, and a few of them are filling public office.

It would seem important to tell how the people of the country in general have taken to the reform of general education. As stated above, times were when children had to be clothed, fed and housed in boarding schools to give the acceptance momentum. This phase has been passed, for thousands are today knocking at the door for entrance into the schools. In fact, this change is having its effect on the policy of the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, which now is emphasizing more and more day schools and less and less boarding schools. In addition, by the Educational Tax, proclaimed in 1947, the people of the Provinces have become directly responsible for the raising of funds through special taxation for the maintenance and establishment of elementary schools in their respective provinces. In all parts of the country, those adults who had their education stopped and

even older ones are clamoring for opportunities to attend evening classes. In plain language, Haile Selassie has made his subjects all education-minded, which is a most healthy sign for the future progress of the Kingdom.

The job of educating all the educable people in Ethiopia has just been scratched, however. Given an approximate population of 15,000,000 the school age group could easily be 4,500,000. At the present rate of enrolment, given a period of uninterrupted peace and even a geometric rise in the number of trained Ethiopians who could enter the field of teaching, it will take many generations to provide schooling for all the school-age children. The job, however, has to be done. The answer seems to lie in the nation's economic and industrial expansion, for the allocations for education, compared with those for other simultaneously important public services, are already out of proportion.

The Ministry of Education and Fine Arts is not the only agency engaged in education in Ethiopia. There are many specialized institutions bringing know-how to Ethiopians. The Police Department maintains two large schools: one, the Aba Dina Police Staff College and the other the Kolfe Police Training School; The Imperial Bodyguard runs the Cadets School; the Imperial Army, under the Ministry of War, the Ganat Military Academy; the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ambo and Holotta Agricultural Schools; the Imperial Air Force, Haile Selassie Aviation School; the Ministry of Justice, the Law School; the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, many craft schools; there are over sixteen hundred Church Schools in addition to the Theological College for the training of priests, deacons and other religious personnel; the Ministry of Public Health, the Dressers Training School, the Doctor's Assistants School, the Pharmacists School and the Sanitary Inspectors School. To this must be added Foreign Missionary and private efforts in adult education.

The Ethiopian student is not average. From the tiniest age, he or she seems to sense the need to master school subjects and shows an unusual avidity for the newer culture. It is not rare to meet young boys in the streets who have a mastery of several languages–Ethiopians seem to be naturally multilingual. As a former schoolmaster in Ethiopia, I can say from first hand knowledge that all the child needs is the opportunity and it is certain that his preparation would fit him to any task.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

International Politics

The subject period of this sketch of Ethiopia, so far as international politics is concerned, must include times further back than the beginning of this century. In fact, as is always the case, what a nation is, is often the evolution of what it was. Of the many facets from which present day Ethiopia may be viewed, the most important, it seems, is her relation to the continent of Africa—this, in terms of the repercussion of the scramble of Europe to expand there. What Ethiopia is today is definitely a reflection of her will to remain free and unconquered in a conquered continent. In the background was the long history of independence and freedom, while in the foreground perpetually loomed the threat to this age-old freedom and independence.

Situated in the Nile Valley, which in the last decades of the nineteenth century assumed political importance to certain powers, Ethiopia became a veritable pawn in the hands of the interested nations—Britain, France, Germany, Russia and Italy were all embroiled to varying degrees in trying to make Ethiopia their protectorate. This was not to the taste of these people, and they therefore used all their power, material and spiritual, to prevent and avoid capitulation. Their rulers asserted themselves and, in 1896, Menelik was able to repel the open attempt of Italy to do what the others sought in other ways.

During this period, treaties were concluded, some of them masterpieces of vagueness and ingenuity—all in the effort of checkmating each other's ascendency in that region and in the control of Ethiopia's trade and natural resources. These nations did not succeed in subjugating the land of Candace as they were able to do with the rest of Africa. Their designs were thwarted; but, at the expense of the self-development of the country. Naturally, this titanic struggle behind their hills, mountains and difficult terrain colored the thinking of the

Ethiopian people. It made them as rugged as their topography. They have been thus made psychologically alert to the intentions of their neighbors. Too often, the attitude of those people whose ambitions were frustrated, has congealed into one of general censure which has so often found expression in an adverse evaluation of Ethiopia's efforts at self-development. The great compromise of principles in the League of Nations, which brought that world body tumbling down, was given coverage in the expressed fact that Ethiopia's progress could be best ensured under alien rule.

In all this, it has been the purpose and aim of Ethiopian foreign policy, since that policy was elaborated by Haile Selassie First like his predecessor Menelik II, to recognize and work towards cooperation with all nations for peace and collective security. As a result, the Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs under the wise and able guidance of His Imperial Majesty has become one of the most active arms of the administration. Moreover, because of the breadth and importance of international decisions on the future internal prosperity of the country, isolation has been eschewed and she is caught up in the relentless march of world progress.

Some people who have been critical of Ethiopia's patience in her international moves, have excoriated her for her unswerving faith in the principles of international morality. Her delegates to world councils have continuously hammered on this course of action. That justice as well is the cornerstone of the nation's relations with her neighbors is fully attested by the fact that even against Italy, her enemy of many decades, Ethiopia has time and again expressed and exemplified, through the policy of her humanitarian Monarch, a desire to see that all the people of the world be given an equal opportunity to live in peace and security.

Ethiopia's insecurity in this first half of the twentieth century kept her on her toes. The baneful five years' occupation of the country brought about by the shifting sands of international security and the denial, in a most damaging manner, of the right of a nation to arm in its defense, did not in any way change the prospects. It is unnecessary to recount the whole episode of this near tragedy to the country. I here quote an editorial from "The Ethiopian Herald," Ethiopian English language weekly, to illustrate what the hopes and fears of the nation

were even up to 1948, while a settlement of the ex-Italian colonial question was in the offing.

"Despite some stubborn facts, the idea seems to still persist in certain quarters of the possible trusteeship of Italy over some of her former colonies. It would be seemingly a bold conspiracy if, despite these facts narrated hereunder, such thinking should still be indulged in.

"First, let there be no illusions about one fact—Italy, of whatever political complexion, has followed one, and only one purpose in the two ex-colonies contiguous to Ethiopia, and that is a plan of the conquest of Ethiopia. This was carried out, not only within the confines of these territories, but there is unassailable evidence that the Italians used their diplomatic immunity within Ethiopia proper to carry out this long designed plot against the peace and integrity of this country.

"From the earliest beginnings of Italian penetration in this region their actions were marked with ulterior designs. The Italian Shipping Company concession in 1869, was taken over by the Italian Government and they began their expansion along the Danakil coast. In 1885, they took the occasion to hoist their flag over Massawa by a *coup* which brought them face to face with Ras Alula. Because of other Ethiopian engagements in the West and South, the Treaty of Uccialli of 1889, was signed. The now famous misinterpretation of this treaty was a clear example of what Italy had in mind; it led to the just as famous battle of Adowa with the decisive defeat of the Italians.

"In the intervening period between the hoisting of the Italian flag over Massawa and the acquisition of Eritrea, Italian intrigues in the Tigrai multiplied. They were setting up their plans to invade Ethiopia. So questionable were the relations of the Italians, even at this time, that Menelik II became suspicious of their motives and broke off diplomatic relations with them in 1894. This was the signal for immediate invasion of Ethiopia and the Italians, although they gained important centers in Tigrai, were forced to retire to Eritrea by the power of Ethiopian arms. The Peace of Addis Ababa in 1896, brought this second aggressive attempt to gain control over Ethiopia to a humiliating end.

"Although the Italians in Eritrea and Ethiopia remained at peace for the next thirty-nine years, Rome still dreamed of creating an empire in Ethiopia and of avenging the Adowa defeat. Some of the espionage

and other suspicious acts of the Italians in Ethiopia proper in preparation for their most recent thrust against the integrity of this country in 1935, were stated by no less an authority than Alexander Lessona, Italian Minister of Colonies, in his book, 'Towards Empire.'

"The Italian Minister of Colonies recognized that the Italian activities to invade Ethiopia in 1935 began in 1930, by the creation of Consular Commercial Agencies in many centers in Ethiopia. One of the objectives was to prevent and check the program of modernization which was started by His Imperial Majesty, and to facilitate Italian penetration into the country.

"Not only did Lessona recognize the foregoing fact, he also stated that the Italian Government in Rome took full responsibility for the underhand work of their consular officers and openly congratulated them in 1932. He also states that Italy was supplying arms and stirring up rebellion within the Ethiopian Empire, making special mention of the effect this would have on Ethiopia's modernization plans.

"Dreams were translated into fact with the development of the fascist regime under Mussolini. Using the Wal-Wal incident as a pretext for their 40 year plan of renewed aggression against a peaceful neighbor, despite all measures to prevent a war, the Italians invaded Ethiopia in 1935. The open statements of their leaders and the utter subjugation to which they put the Ethiopian people during their five years of occupation proved beyond doubt the unacceptability of Italy again to become a neighbor of this country.

"The previous attempts were made under non-fascist Italian Governments. It is therefore no excuse to say that today, since the Italian Government is assumed to be democratic, a sudden change has come about. The second major aggression in 1935, was done to carry out the dream of Empire and to clear from their escutcheon the disgrace of a former defeat. Today, Italy, because she joined with the Nazi bloc in 1940, was again defeated. By what species of logic may one believe that Italy will not again try to accomplish her dreams? It would seem not only unjust, but criminal, for anyone to propose that Italy should again be placed in a position to wreak her vengeance on Ethiopia, a comparatively weak but peaceful neighbor.

"The pattern followed by the Italians in Eritrea and Somalia was originally based on the concept of conquest of the fertile lands of this country. Thus, they exploited the affinity of the peoples of these terri-

tories, their common origin and their common language, to set up a network of informants and espionage agents in Ethiopia. As was brought out in the famous Gugsa case, secret documents and other confidential materials were available to the Italians because of the use they made of the lack of suspicion of the Eritrean and Somali by the Ethiopian people and authorities on account of their underlying historical and sociological oneness. In addition, Italian consuls and other diplomatic personnel used their diplomatic immunity as an open means of furthering plans of aggression. These acts have been detrimental to the interests of her Ethiopian neighbor and constituted a constant threat to the political stability of this region.

"In the present state of world politics, and because of the new alignments which are now openly taking shape, peace and security in the Red Sea area are essential to world peace and security. Furthermore, Ethiopia, a member of the United Nations, and a nation which, in its long history, has never been known to be anything but peace-loving, deserves an opportunity to continue her rehabilitation and reconstruction free from the continuous pall of fear. What may eventuate is that she might have to deflect revenue most essential to peaceful civil endeavors into channels of military protection, which will constitute a drain on her limited resources.

"Italy, under any guise as a neighbor of this country must raise great misgivings. Eritrea and Somaliland, as has been proven, are Ethiopian coastline territories. They cannot become self-supporting without large subsidies. They will be virtual colonies unless re-incorporated into the mother country, whether under United Nations or any other trusteeship. With Italy anywhere in this sort of administration, Ethiopia will be subjected to the same previous insecurity and, with the world political set-up ever changing, this country will find itself faced with the same dangers which the peace settlement is designed to remedy.

"The facts of history show clearly that Italy and Ethiopia can not be neighbors in the peaceful meaning of the term. The complexion of Italian Governments in the past constituted no guarantee of this. From her repeated attempts of aggression against this country, Italy has forfeited her claims to become a member of this neighborhood; Ethiopia, in the meantime, has suffered immeasurably. The ethics of diplomacy were set aside by Italy in her former relationship with this country,

and her return would place her in a position to use again the type of machinery so accessible to Italy because of the racial and linguistic affinity of these areas with Ethiopia. All these facts indicate that Italy in Eritrea or Somaliland would be a direct threat to world peace.

"It can never be assumed that at this time when so much is ostensibly being done to remove threats to the peace, that the return of Italy in North Africa could be envisaged. Any such proposal would lack at once the seriousness and sincerity necessary in advancing world peace. In fact, it would be an abrogation of the principles of the United Nations Charter, would deliberately create a threat to world peace, would upset the political stability of the Red Sea and Middle East area, and would leave Ethiopia no other alternative than to arm for her adequate protection against a recurrence of past tragedy. Italy can not be a neighbor to Ethiopia!"

Careful analysis of the foregoing editorial taken from the "Ethiopian Herald" of August 28, 1948, will show vividly the theme behind Ethiopia's international politics. She is a country living in fear, the extent of which has been adequately founded on events of the past sixty years. The slightest acquaintance with Ethiopian history of that period will convince that the present status of the country represents enormous progress under the circumstances. For the internal prosperity of any nation depends to a great extent on its tranquility both within and without. The energies of the past half century were to a major extent dissipated on the fight for national survival against a policy of outside strangulation and the known intrigues of her neighbors. The conflicts between Italy and Ethiopia in 1896 and in 1935, were the outcome of these penetrative moves, which, in themselves, were far deeper in their consequences on Ethiopia's peace and security and on the shape of world events.

It has been written and stated everywhere that Ethiopia became the moral example to the world of what insecurity in world affairs really and truly means. Besides her firm belief in international cooperation, that country has always stood on the efficacy of the principles of justice and morality. It might be argued that Ethiopia, being limited in material and military strength had, perforce, to confide in such principles; but, it must be remembered that even in the face of favorable bargaining, His Imperial Majesty has unchangingly laid his trust in a world morality, which to him is the only enduring basis of civilized world life.

Since her adherence to the League of Nations, and despite the sad experience therefrom, that African nation has kept cooperating with international bodies and has faithfully carried out her obligations under the various treaties and conventions of which she has become party. Ethiopian delegates sat with those of fifty-four nations in San Francisco to formulate the United Nations Charter. She is a full-fledged member of that world body, and participates in several of its specialized agencies.

In the field of diplomatic communion, today Ethiopian diplomatic and consular missions are in Europe, Asia and the Americas, with the reciprocal missions of friendly and cooperating powers enjoying the nation's full hospitality and the deep respect of the Ethiopian people. The 26 posts include 4 Embassies, 13 Legations, 8 Consulates and 1 Liaison Office. In London, Paris, Cairo and Washington, D. C., the Imperial Ethiopian Government is represented by Ambassadors. Ministers Plenipotentiary are to be found in Moscow, New Delhi, Stockholm, Brussels, Oslo, Athens, Damascus, Jeddah, Beirut, Teheran, Rio de Janeiro, Mexico City and in Caracas. Ethiopian Consulates are located in Jerusalem, which serves that city, Syria and Lebanon, Djibouti, Brussels, Zurich, Marseilles, the Hague, Malta and New York. The trend is towards expansion in this field, for the present number of missions represents enormous growth since the restoration.

To carry forward the work of the Foreign Affairs Ministry, His Imperial Majesty has had to draw heavily on the limited trained manpower of the nation. A noticeable aftermath of the invasion and occupation was decimation of the Ethiopian intelligentsia. The fruits of the national educational plan have already been seen in the supply of a body of young men, trainees in the service of the country. Haile Selassie First keeps a very close touch on all international movements and decides highest level foreign policy through His Minister of Foreign Affairs, His Excellency Ato Aklilou Habtewold, well-known in the leading capitals of the world and leader of the nation's United Nations Delegations for several years. Sensing the vast importance of international dealings on the internal wellbeing of the country, this arm of the Central Government is considered with its commensurate weight. Besides the Minister, there is a Vice-Minister, and many departments charged with the work of keeping active the channels of Ethiopia's world cooperation.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

The Ethiopian Church

Ethiopia's pre-Christian era ended in the early fourth century when Christianity was accepted in that country. In Christendom, therefore, the Ethiopians are among the oldest people who rallied to the Faith. By a curious twist of fate, however, although Ethiopia was always an independent nation, her Church was under the control of the Alexandrian Cathedral from which it received its dispensation. The conflict of nationalism in Ethiopia as against the persistent desire of the mother Church in Egypt was reflected in a long struggle by the Ethiopian for autonomy, which came about in the first half of the Twentieth Century. The campaign was waged by many of the Ethiopian Kings and Emperors, but the credit for reconciling this disagreement must go, in the greatest measure, to Haile Selassie First, through whose mediation autonomy has come, with the spiritual community between the mother and daughter Churches still remaining intact.

It must be recalled that in Ethiopia there is an instituted Church which, in its spiritual as well as temporal influence, played a far-reaching part in the destiny of the country. Many Ethiopian Kings in the past were either made or broken by the tremendous influence of the Church. In certain areas of thought in the land of Queen Sheba, it has always been thought that this institution played too important a part in the ordering of the society. Even today, although not easily evident, segments of the population still hold to the pre-Christian ideals. An old Ethiopian once told me that it was his belief that the decadence of Ethiopia's ancient greatness was partially brought about by religious division which dates as far back as when Christianity was embraced. His reasoning was that during the period of Greater Ethiopia, when the flag and authority reached to both sides of the Red Sea and included even parts of today's Egypt, the people were solidly unified in their paganism. Since all the people did not deign to be Christians, a

division was caused which dissipated the former unity of the country. Thenceforward set in the disintegration of the civilization. The Mohammedan penetration further weakened the remnant of solidarity thus corrupting the national spiritual unity of the Ethiopian people. Be that as it may, the episode of the instituted Church gaining its autonomy is very interesting.

For eight centuries the relations between the Coptic Church with its seat in Alexandria and the Ethiopian Church were strained. Radical differences arose over the administration and the organization of the latter. At some intervals during the relationship the situation became so acute as to threaten a decisive break between the two Churches. The Ethiopian Church, both the clergy and the faithful, consistently insisted that according to their traditions, needs and aspirations, reorganization was necessary and essential. The Coptic Church, for its own reasons, opposed these claims. It was like the relation between mother and child, which after maturity of the latter necessitated change. What was good for Ethiopia of the Fifth or Sixth Century became, in essence, out-dated and unsuited to Ethiopia of the Twentieth Century.

Ethiopia received the Christian faith from the hands of St. Frumentius, a man from Tyr, in Syria. This faith was later spread further abroad by the activities and missionary zeal of the Nine Religious who arrived from the country of Roum. The new Church was put under the tutelage of the Alexandrian Church which from that time started to invest the successors of Frumentius who were designated by the Ethiopian clergy and people. During the Christological discussions of the Fifth Century, because of her geographic situation, the Ethiopian Church did not participate. This church conference resulted in the breaking up of the One and Indivisible Christendom in Egypt into two Patriarchates: that of the Melkites (Byzantine rite) and that of the Jacobites (Coptic rite). During this time the Ethiopian Church maintained the friendliest of ties with Mediterranean Christendom.

The new circumstances raised by the Arab conquest of Egypt and elsewhere in the Middle East, threw the Ethiopian Church firmly into the arms of the Coptic Church. It is from this time that the tradition of sending a Coptic Primate to administer the Ethiopian Church came in. Christianity flourished in Ethiopia through the preaching and the teaching of the Nine Religious and the religious schools instituted by them. The Coptic Primate (Abuna) has remained since then the sole tie between the Coptic and Ethiopian Churches. He consecrated the priests

and excommunicated the back-sliders at the wish of the Emperor. The Ethiopian Church evolved according to the national manner and customs.

Strenuous efforts were made by the Coptic Church to keep the daughter Church continuously under her tutelage. To do this successfully, the Ethiopian Church was denied the right to elect her bishops from amongst her own children. In addition, knowing that the Ethiopian Christians had a profound respect for the Oeucumenical Council (325), the Coptic Church entered this prohibition in the 'Fetha Negest' as a fundamental canon. By the stipulations of this canon the Ethiopian Church had been condemned to perpetual servitude. It is understandable that early in the period of evangelization and Christian education this servile situation should arise. It became undoubtedly abnormal and out of date for a daughter Church which had grown greater in vastness and strength than the mother Church to remain in such a position.

Not only was the Abuna the only link between the Egyptian and Ethiopian Churches, he was a foreigner ignorant of the soul and spirit of the Ethiopian Church, while the Ethiopian clergy was zealous in administering and extending their Church. To assuage the conflict a high Ethiopian Ecclesiastic was appointed to administer the church organization, known as the Echegue, so as to remedy the inadequacy of the Coptic Primate. Even with this compromise, the Ethiopian Church was not free to forge ahead. The foreign tutelage represented by a primate of this nature did not secure the advantages expected by the Ethiopian Church. It followed that whenever thereafter the question of reorganization came up, the Coptic tutelage headed the list of problems to be discussed.

Even in early medieval times this matter engaged the kings. Negus Keddous Harbé earnestly entreated that some bishops be ordained from amongst the most worthy Ethiopians in order to re-establish the former autonomy of the Church. Abuna Mikael, the Coptic Primate, refused and an Ethiopian delegation was despatched to Cairo. On behalf of the Emperor, the clergy and the people, the delegation expressed the desire to see a sufficient body of bishops established in Ethiopia. According to the Synodical stipulations, the Primate was to consecrate them to occupy new dioceses in the vast provinces of Ethiopia and to fill episcopal vacancies when these occurred.

The Coptic Patriarch thought this a bold attempt to flout the

dominion of the Alexandrian See and to make the Ethiopian Church independent in every respect. In his own interest, and wishing to favor the Monarch of Ethiopia, the Sultan of Egypt, El-Afdal, asked the Patriarch to satisfy Ethiopia's claims. In answer the Patriarch called attention to the grave consequences that might be foreseen if such an innovation were permitted. He carefully suggested that the Ethiopians were in the main requesting their autonomy from the Patriarchal authority; this would be a loss to the Coptics and detrimental to the preponderant influence of the Caliph over Ethiopian areas. The attempt of Keddous Harbé failed; but the Ethiopian Church did not abandon the fight. It was their heartfelt desire to throw off what they considered an intolerable régime of servitude.

Ethiopian ecclesiastics did not flinch in their responsibility to their flock. Absorbed by questions of interior policy and perplexed by problems in defense of their national defense, they postponed the settlement of this church question for a more opportune time. At a certain period, Catholicism was a welcome intruder, for Ethiopia had expected vital help and support from Portugal and her satellites in her desperate fight against the Moslem penetration. Official Ethiopia capitulated to the representatives of Catholicism but the Ethiopian faithful stood undismayed by these events and unshaken in their church traditions. The danger passed, and after bloody sacrifices, the people found their souls again; they took up again their way of life and trod again the paths of their Church amidst their country's traditions. The crucial settlement between the Coptic and Ethiopian Churches remained open; the acute need for a national religious chief remained.

It so happened that the people used the office of the Echegue to focus and concentrate all their religious sentiments. They continued to be stirred by their aspirations to have a national religious head. In this way the Echegue absorbed some of the functions of the Coptic Primate whose duties were reduced only to the ordination of priests.

Kings Abraha, Atsbaha and Keddous Harbé failed in their attempt to settle this burning ecclesiastical question. Emperor Teodoros after them, resolutely intended to put an end to the question. His adventurous reign, however, postponed the honor for his successors. Emperor Johannes made more advance in this direction than his predecessors. Being an inspired friend of civilization and of progress, and certainly endowed with many of the qualities that go to the making of great

kings, he was greatly interested in ecclesiastical matters. For the reorganization of the Ethiopian Church he wanted a broadminded episcopacy aware of their vocation and mission. He appealed to King George of Greece, soliciting physicians, engineers and bishops. He appealed also to the Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Alexandria, Sophronios, asking for bishops to assist the Ethiopian Church in her reorganization. At the same time he appealed to the Patriarch of the Coptic Church in Alexandria who yielded to the Emperor's request. Although the request was not fully met, four prelates were supplied from among non-Ethiopian clergy. This concession was regarded as the first step towards the recognition of Ethiopia's claims.

Of these prelates, only one survived the death of Menelik II. Fortunately, his death did not occur until after the reforms inaugurated during the regency period of Emperor Haile Selassie. Upon the death of Abuna Mathaios, the last incumbent, the question of the tutelage of the Coptic Church was opened again. Ethiopia claimed an Archbishop and bishops to be elected from among its own clergy. The Nicean apocryphal canon was again brought up by the Coptic Church against these claims. The Ethiopians argued that this canon had already been broken in the reign of Johannes. The Coptic Patriarch consented to ordain one Ethiopian bishop besides the Coptic Abuna: this candidate for the bishopric was Echegue Gabre Menfas Keddous. Encouraged by this new fissure in the resistance of the mother Church the negotiations ended in agreement on the institution of one Coptic Archbishop and five Ethiopian bishops.

Accordingly, to "safe bind, safe find" the Coptic Church compelled all, Archbishops and bishops, to sign an agreement before their ordination, so that if they failed to keep its stipulations they would fall under the penalty of excommunication. By virtue of this engagement they declared themselves deprived of their rights, for they were not allowed to ordain bishops separately or conjointly, nor were they authorized to constitute a regional Synod free to enjoy the Synodical rights and prerogatives due to so vast a diocese as is Ethiopia. The Ethiopian Church consented reluctantly to these restrictions hoping for the opportunity to re-open and settle the question later once and for all.

The Italian occupation disturbed the life of Ethiopia in every aspect with regard to the State and the Church. Poison gas dropped by the invaders scattered the children of the land; but the spirit of the

people did not lose its flame; it remained burning and stirred up resistance against the occupiers. When His Majesty changed his Headquarters from the Ethiopian highlands to Geneva many of the dignitaries accompanied him. The Echegue went with him representing the clergy and the faithful; the other members of the national clergy stood close to the people during the national crisis. Two Ethiopian Church Bishops, Abuna Petros and Abuna Mikael, offered their lives in sacrifice for the freedom of their country; of these men the Ethiopian Church is proud. Only two Ethiopian bishops survived the occupation: Bishop Issak and Bishop Abraham, the latter bearing on his face the marks of poison gas.

Italian policy, during the occupation, was implacable and tried to destroy every national element liable to the suspicion of sustaining resistance and helping the resurrection of the country. Policy was cunningly directed to ecclesiastical matters, the Italians flattering the national feeling of the people. On the one hand, they were aware of the heartfelt secular desire of the Ethiopian Clergy for the emancipation of the Church; on the other hand, the Italians disliked and disapproved of the tutelage of the Ethiopian Church by a foreign guardian. They declared against every kind of intervention in interior matters in their occupied territories. They saw the undeniable effects of the insufficiency of the Coptic Church to discharge their mission. Their policy in ecclesiastical affairs turned against the Coptic Patriarchate.

After the decision of the Coptic patriarchate to supply the Ethiopian Church with five bishops, Italian policy was against the Eritrean Church being joined to the Ethiopian diocese, the Patriarch in Alexandria accepting the Italian refusal. During the occupation, however, this condition was reversed and the Eritrean Church was put under that of Ethiopia; both the churches then constituting one *autocephalus* Church under Italian control.

The pretext for the realization and the creation of this new ecclesiastical regime was given by the Coptic Abuna Kyrillos himself, who, early in the first days of the occupation, it is said, went on the side of the invaders. He thought and said that the Italians were a heaven sent blessing to Ethiopia. He ignored the crucial divergence between the Coptic and Ethiopian mentalities: the former resigned themselves to the occupation in Egypt; it is on record that they helped it, whereas the Ethiopians fought for their country against the invader. They lost the

first battles; but later their resistance recovered their independence and their freedom. He overestimated his influence towards the Italian cause and thought the circumstances were ripe for his ambitious aims.

It is reported that Abuna Kyrillos asked for the alteration of the *status quo* of the Ethiopian Church and claimed prerogatives and rights he never had under the Ethiopian régime. He did not ask for the rights recognized as his by the canonical status law of the early Eastern Church but denied him by the Coptic Church in Egypt. These claims came into conflict with the Ethiopian clergy who remained faithful and attached to their flock and watched over the safety and integrity of their country. They protested against Kyrillos' claims. The strife between the national clergy and the Abuna over the latter's rights and jurisdiction did not leave the Italian administration indifferent; the affair was taken before the Italian Government in Rome. Abuna Kyrillos intended to travel to Italy for this purpose, and vainly the Ethiopian Clergy solicited him to stay behind with his flock. The Italians seized the opportunity to shake off the Coptic tutelage: a new status was elaborated for the Ethiopian Church. This new organization had its basis not in the alteration of the *status quo* as intended by Abuna Kyrillos, but was a new régime for the decentralization of the Ethiopian Church according to the principles of the administration in the Eastern Churches.

A pan-Ethiopian Council gathered attended by many representatives of the clergy and dignitaries of the country, but the Ethiopian Church was abandoned by her religious Chief who stayed in Cairo far from his flock. The Church could no longer remain *acephalus* (headless) and claimed to become *autocephalus* (independent). Her choice of a head fell on the person of Abba Abraham, an old man almost blinded by poison gas. Ethiopian aspirations were gratified by such a religious head enjoying episcopal rights and prerogatives throughout so vast a country as Ethiopia. They were aware that this situation was not caused by Cairo and that it was attained in a roundabout way. But knowing that Christianity is a religion transcending forms, they accepted the new régime because it was in the spirit and letter of the early Church.

The Coptic Patriarchate in Cairo ransacked its archives and drew out the engagement signed by the five Ethiopian Bishops in 1929. The Patriarch hurled thunder against the new régime and its partisans.

Abuna Kyrillos solicited Italian help for the rights he claimed over the Ethiopian Church, but preferred to remain in Cairo quiet, careful and undisturbed. He could have transferred his seat to Jerusalem, as the Emperor of Ethiopia transferred his political activity from Addis Ababa to Bath in the United Kingdom. In Jerusalem there were many Ethiopian monks who wanted a revered high religious authority to settle the disputes raised about the property of the Monastery.

Meanwhile the Church in Ethiopia had its Metropolitan, its Archbishop and bishops. A little time afterwards, Italy's power was cast down. The Emperor returned to his country which had recovered its independence. The time was ripe for another phase of the ecclesiastical tangle between the Coptic and Ethiopian Churches.

Re-established in Addis Ababa, the Emperor and his Government inaugurated a policy of reconstruction and rehabilitation, rallying the forces of the country to the new task. It was hard; many acute problems faced the Government. Dealing with the most urgent, the Ethiopians put aside the ecclesiastical question, in the hope that the post-war evolution would open the eyes of the mother Church toward the need for a just settlement of the issue. Ethiopia could have recognized the *coup d'état* achieved under the occupation, and gone her way ignoring every protest. She preferred to be courteous towards the Patriarchate in Cairo. Accordingly, putting aside the staff of the new order, she asked for a new staff ordained by the Cathedra in Egypt. The Archbishop, the bishops and the Metropolitan were sent into retirement. But Ethiopian policy had miscarried and their courteous attitude towards the Coptic Church was ignored.

The mother Church made haste to regain her pre-war position in Ethiopia. A delegation, led by Abuna Kyrillos himself, came from Cairo to visit Ethiopia in June 1942. Cairo's move was to restore Kyrillos to his See; the question for the Ethiopians was one of principle, not personality, and naturally this act of the Coptic Church displeased them. The arrival of the delegation opened the matter in all its hoary details. This significant declaration was made by the delegation in its address to His Imperial Majesty: "We search in broadminded and friendly spirit, within the limits of the canons and traditions of the Church, to strengthen more than ever the bonds linking the daughter Church with her mother and to cement further the union of both Churches, so that these should constitute nothing else than one body with one chief at the

head, so from the source of the Nile to the mouth would rise the purest prayer of Orthodox Christendom, which is the oldest in history." On the other hand, the aims of the Ethiopian Church are set forth in His Imperial Majesty's reply: "*We are ready to examine with you and in a spirit of love the condition of the Ethiopian Church. She does not want to be detached from the Church of Alexandria, but wishes to discuss and to ask for the rights that are justly hers.*"

The Ethiopian point of view was in the *Rights* of the Ethiopian Church: that of the Coptic Church in one ecclesiastical union under one chief to which would conform all Christians along the banks of the Nile professing the Coptic rite; that would mean the assimilation of Ethiopia as one of the Coptic dioceses in Egypt.

Openly stating its views, the Ethiopian Church asked for an Ethiopian Episcopacy with full unmutilated rights and prerogatives. The Nicean apocryphal canon was again set against Ethiopian claims; but it had lost its value. Leaving Abuna Kyrillos behind in suspense, the delegation returned to Cairo and submitted to the Patriarch Johannes the desires of the Ethiopian Church. The sudden death of this patriarch postponed the discussion till the election of his successor. The new incumbent sent another delegation in 1944 to Addis Ababa under Abba Athanasios, bishop of Dakhlia. Ethiopia maintained her point of view at the meeting with this delegation which later returned to Cairo.

The wishes of the Ethiopian Church were expressed in a list, the most important point being the ordination of Ethiopian bishops and an Archbishop, that is, an ecclesiastical body for autonomous church administration. In June, 1945, the Coptic Synod examined the question. Members of the National Council and notables of the Coptic Community were consulted. They showed more toryism than liberalism. The intransigence was more on the part of the clergy than on that of the laity. The attitude of the mother Church was again negative.

Tired of the long-winded and endless discussions and seeing all these interminable evasions and subterfuges, the Ethiopian Clergy in November 1945, held an Ecclesiastical Assembly. The first and preliminary session ended on the note that there was little hope of a favorable reply from the Coptic Church and that the Assembly should be prepared to protect its right to freedom. It was their responsibility to see that the age-old aspirations of the Ethiopian Church be achieved without any further delay. The session closed to meet later with the plea

that the matter be presented to His Majesty the Emperor to lend his aid so that the matter might be settled. The intervention of the Ethiopian Government was that the Coptic Church should be approached again on the subject by another Ethiopian delegation.

The Ecclesiastical Assembly raised the question: "Be it resolved that since all Ethiopians prefer to elect and appoint their own Chief Bishop, bishops and clergy, that this Assembly declare by voting its decision whether or not to request of the Ethiopian Government that delegates should again be sent to discuss the matter with the Alexandrian Church, or whether the Ethiopian Church should appoint their leading church personages from amongst its own people." The vote was 25 persons in favor of sending delegates to Egypt, on the basis of the Government's intervention, and 71 persons in favor of the election and appointment of an Archbishop, bishops and clergy from among the Ethiopian people.

In spite of this resolution, an Ethiopian delegation was sent to Cairo in January, 1946, in order to negotiate with the Coptic Church the points of divergence. The negotiations ended in an agreement, in the terms of which, the Ethiopians, setting aside the consecration of Coptic bishops, consented to the ordination of Ethiopian bishops and an Ethiopian Archbishop who will enter upon his duties on the death of the actual Coptic Abuna; they consented also to participate in the election of the Coptic Patriarch. In this agreement, however, certain points were not clearly expressed, that is, on the rights of the bishops and those of the Archbishop. The Ethiopians disliked the mutilated episcopacy, as was the case of the bishops consecrated in 1929.

The silence of the agreement on certain crucial points of Ethiopian interest gave rise to a conflict between the two Churches. Returning to Addis Ababa, the delegation brought its agreement along with a letter from the acting Patriarch. On the verge of the election of the new Patriarch the Ethiopian representatives—five bishops to be consecrated and two high Government officials—arrived to participate. They saw that the Ethiopian representatives in the electoral Assembly were by no means adequate to the Egyptians in proportion to the faithful in Ethiopia compared to the number of Copts in Egypt. When the time came for the ordination of the five Ethiopian candidates, they were requested, first of all, to sign an agreement about the formula over which conflict arose. The Ethiopian candidates were asked to commit themselves to respect the doctrine of the Coptic Church and to recog-

nize the Coptic Patriarch as chief of the Ethiopian Church. The agreement to be signed included a promise to be made formally not to participate in the consecration of bishops either separately or conjointly. The Ethiopians insisted on the reservation to the Ethiopian Archbishop of his rights to consecrate bishops. The views of the Coptic Community were favorable to the Ethiopian request, but the Patriarchal circles refused to yield. The matter came to an impasse; rupture was impending.

At this stage, the Egyptian Government offered its services as mediator. Premier Ismail Sedky Pasha appealed to His Majesty the Emperor and asked him not to recall the Ethiopian delegation, in the hope of reaching a solution satisfactory to both parties. The request was granted, His Majesty promising to examine the question in a spirit of amity. It was proposed by the Egyptian Prime Minister that the parties agree to maintain the *status quo* for one year in the course of which the Ethiopian bishops agreed not to consecrate other bishops pending the outcome. This *modus vivendi* was accepted by the Ethiopian delegation. It was noticed, however, that in drawing up this tentative agreement, the desire of the Patriarchate was to insert "respect in general for the doctrines of the Coptic Church." The Ethiopians took this to mean that this engagement would have imposed on them even the respect for Coptic institutions and traditions. As a last attempt to reconcile the difference, the Egyptian Government suggested to the Patriarch to refer the matter to a large Assembly constituted of the highest personages of the Coptic community. This proposal was rejected, with the assertion that the Patriarch and bishops, associating themselves with him and nobody else, were fit to consecrate bishops, and that such ecclesiastical matters concerned only the Synod.

Appreciating the efforts of the Egyptian Government to clear up the difficulties, the Ethiopian delegation deferred their return in the hope that a solution might yet be reached. Their hopes proved fruitless, and after weeks of waiting they returned to Addis Ababa. There was no doubt whatsoever of the fact that the Ethiopians did not intend to give up the fight until their Church became completely autonomous. The final resolution of the question came about in 1948 in theory, and in fact in January, 1950.

Five Ethiopian bishops were consecrated by the Coptic Patriarch in July of 1948, with an agreement that after the death of the current

Egyptian Primate, the Archbishopric of the Ethiopian Church will fall to the highest among them. That event brought a happy end to the eight-centuries-old controversy between the mother and daughter Churches. By it the former recognized the coming-of-age of the daughter and gave her her blessing. What the Ethiopian Church wanted, and which she received by this act, was to be permitted to elect from among her high ecclesiastic personages her Archbishop to the spiritual headship and to be granted a dispensation to anoint other bishops and Episkopos. The amicable disposal of the question puts both Churches in a better position to advance the cause of Christianity in that region of Orthodox Christianity.

With Alexandria being more Mediterranean in its orbit or radiation, the Ethiopian Church remains an impregnable island of Christianity in the heart of Africa. As an instituted Church in an independent country, the former relationship presented gross disadvantages. Since the spiritual and material progress of the country must go hand in hand, the Ethiopian Church could not have fulfilled its mission with an alien anchorage. Thanks to the intervention of His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie First, this mooring has been brought home without impairing either the spiritual or temporal bond between the Ethiopian and Alexandrian Churches.

The enthusiasm with which the newly ordained bishops were welcomed when they returned home is surely a reflection of the deep-seated desire of all the Ethiopian people—Christians and non-Christians—for this religious emancipation. It was a big day in the history of the nation. A large body of priests, deacons and other church people, as well as thousands of Christians and non-Christians were on hand at the aerodrome to receive the prelates. A mammoth reception was arranged in the Old Palace where, in the presence of their Imperial Majesty, Princes, Dignitaries, Ministers, Government and Military officials, the newly consecrated church leaders were formally received. His Majesty the Emperor, whose timely intervention saved the relations between the Throne of St. Mark and the Ethiopian Church, welcomed the bishops in these words:

"Thanks to the spiritual relations conserved with the Throne of St. Mark, it is a joy for all Ethiopia known as a Christian island in the Continent of Africa, to see fulfilled the wish of the Ethiopian Church, a wish worthy of her greatness and her glory for which, without ceasing, we have striven for such a long time.

"The spirit of good understanding which has been preserved between the Cathedra of St. Mark and the Ethiopian Church is an assurance of the high results in the spiritual development to which the two churches, side by side, have dedicated themselves.

"The maintenance of this spirit of good understanding, which is a product of our time, is an honor both for us and for His Holiness Yousab II, who sits on the Cathedra of St. Mark, and, we take this opportunity to express Our respect to His Holiness Yousab II.

"It is necessary that the progress which Ethiopia accomplishes be harmonized with her Faith. Where there is no faith in a civilization but only power, that civilization is surrounded with doubt and fear and its power expresses itself in brutality.

"At this time when, assuming the wide responsibility of developing religious and moral education, you begin, with the grace of God, your mission through which you will gain the glory of Heaven, Our best wishes are with you."

The profound influence of the Ethiopian Church through the centuries is a well established fact in the nation's history. Through the privilege of anointing the kings and dispensing unction on the regal family, the Church has been close to the seat of authority. Many kings owed their success or failure to the relationship they maintained with this, the greatest mass organization in Ethiopia. In fact, it is the only mass organization in the country today, and the priests exert an overbearing influence on the social patterns. It becomes immediately noticeable to the visitors that church people in that country have the deepest reverence for the Church, both as an institution as well as its physical paraphernalia. Often pedestrians are seen bowing in a certain direction several times, and the uninitiated question why. Upon investigation, it is found that they are bowing in reverence to the church which may or may not be nearby but in that direction. Often they kiss even the exterior walls of a church building, because they firmly believe that the power of the Church, temporal as well as spiritual, should be revered. The clergy is held in the greatest esteem and it is customary that each family have a father-confessor, a priest who visits the home and blesses the members thereof.

The Ethiopian Church has accumulated a great body of rites, some common to the Jacobite dispensation of which this Church is a branch, others, a conglomeration of some local religious customs and these former rites, which give their observances a distinctive character. There

is plenty of emphasis on the Saints, feast and fast days being set aside almost every day in the Church calendar for special commemoration in their honor. So far as Old Testament religious culture is maintained, the Ethiopian Church veers very hard to originality. On such important celebrations as Epiphany (Timquat) and the Feast of the Cross (Masqual), the body of priests with their cymbals and drums dance the ancient Dance of David and carry on in many ways the ancient Hebraic rituals described in the Old Testament. Many Orthodox Christians from Egypt, Russia and Greece testify to the fact that apart from a few basic similarities, the rites observed in the Ethiopian Church seem absolutely different.

In the Ethiopian Church, for instance, the Epiphany (Timquat) is a greater feast than Christmas (Ganna). Except with some measure of explanation from the Church leaders, a foreigner might forthwith question why Epiphany carries more weight than Christmas. Well, so it does. In fact, the Ethiopian Church has joined the birth and the baptism of the Saviour, and does emphasize more the latter. On the eve of the celebration of Timquat, known as "Katara," all the Arks from the various churches in the Capital are carried by their religious bearers to Jan Meda (a large square paddock in the city), and deposited there until the early hours of the morning, when the reenactment of the famous baptism ceremony at the River Jordan is held in deep and sustained religious rites. It is said that a repetition of this takes place in all other parts of the country where the Church operates.

In church vestments, it is known that the Ethiopian Church hews most closely to the traditional styles of the Old Testament dispensation. In their vari-colored togas and other distinctive robes, the bishops, priests, deacons, acolytes, sacristans, choristers and religious dancers appear splendorous and reverent in the imposing ceremony. Frankly, the color pattern is at every turn an extravaganza: robes, umbrellas, the sacred carpets, all the sacred ornaments are made of contrasting colors; some are brocaded with gold and golden beads rich with glimmer; red, purple, blue, white, green, black, yes, all the hues go to make up this luxurious church pageant.

As if to support in essence the vivid portrayal of the lesson, the whole affair is a sermon in symbolism. In the ceremonial paddock is constructed a fountain with the effigy of St. John the Baptist, superimposed by a dove from which water flows and accumulates in a catchment representing the River Jordan. Candles on floats are lit while

the priests read from appropriate passages of the Bible, some blessing the water and atmosphere with incense; all this in realistic recast of the day when John the Baptist said these memorable words: "I indeed baptize you with water; but one mightier than I cometh, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloose; He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire."

Ethiopia, as I have stated before, is a land of contrasts. This dissimilarity of observance to that obtaining in other parts of the world may be explained thus: in the land of Queen Sheba the religious expression is the result of a trilogy. When Christianity came to Ethiopia in 327 A.D. or thereabouts, the rites were of a pagan nature. There was no religious revolution, in the accepted sense of the term, and therefore some of the pagan rites still remain and are observed. In this branch of Christianity, Sainthood and Saints form part of the doctrine. In addition, because of the long and uninterrupted teaching of the Bible as the fundamental edict of religious law and customs and the Hebraic trappings of the creed, there is much of the three dispensations woven together in what is seen today. It is the coalescence of these three branches of religious culture which makes these rites not only spectacular but unique in the experiences of guests of the land. It should provide a good field of study to those interested in comparative religions, for Ethiopia is truly a country in which at every turn can be seen the admixture of the ancient and modern.

Annually at this great feast which is celebrated usually within the third week of January, the whole of Ethiopian Christian community takes part. His Imperial Majesty, truly the Protector of the Faith in his country, ceremoniously continues to partake in the observance of the festivities of the Church. Timquat is no exception. At the conclusion of the ceremony he is usually the first to be sprinkled by the Archbishop as he joins in pious submission in the observance. The reflection on the life of the people is all too evident. From all walks of life, from all stations, from everywhere come people in streams by the thousands in a spontaneous allegiance to take part in the worship. Many remain in the open air during the night with the tabots (Arks). After the service they accompany the priests following the Holy Ornaments back to their repositories in the various churches. The whole affair presents a huge processional, expressive of the religious fervor of the people and the impressive position of the Church in their life.

The other great religious feast worth a brief description is *Masqual,*

the feast of the Cross. In the days of early Christianity, Helena, one of the Ethiopian Queens, sponsored an expedition of church people in search of the original cross on which Jesus was crucified. The search was successful, and when the cross was found, she ordered that a tall pole be erected and burned so that the Christians in Constantinople might be notified of the good news by the light of the burning pole. The celebration of the finding of the original cross has become, since then, one of the great days of the Ethiopian Church.

The crucifix is a purely *Anno Domini* concept; but this feast represents an admixture of definite pagan rites and some of those of Christianity and the Christian era. The burning of the pole, in addition to its purpose as directed by Queen Helena, is said to symbolize and recall the profuse use of incense in pre-Christian Ethiopian temples. The thought was, in addition to providing a sign of the glad tidings to Constantinople, that the smoke from the burning pole would ascend to heaven and return to the earth blessed. This particular rite, known as *Damara,* bears out the observation that many of the rites and images of the pre-Christian era were retained, and in some of their places, saints and new religious images were substituted. Damara and Masqual, therefore, are fused together in this ceremony—the former having to do with the pre-Christian ceremonial of the burning of incense, and the latter, Masqual (the Cross), having to do with the finding of the Cross of the Crucifixion by Helena's religious expedition. By a wedding of these two ceremonies the first major Church festival which comes in the month of Maskarem (in September) is compounded.

A significant and interesting feature of Masqual is that, coming at the end of the rainy season, it finds the countryside carpeted with flowers. It is the time when vegetation begins to flourish and when an appreciable breath of sunshine begins to pervade the whole country. In addition to the religious aspects, therefore, Masqual is observed by all with flowers. As with mechanical precision, annually at this time, a distinctive yellow flower appears profusely almost everywhere. Flora, the goddess of Spring, it seems, acts in concert with this national observance, and, as if to make it possible for all to participate, supplies this unique gift so that everyone may join in without stint.

So far as the influence of the Ethiopian Church is concerned, it has kept rigidly to the spiritual, moral and cultural, not essaying to take a very active part in the measure of social philanthropy so characteristic

of the Church in the West. The Ethiopian Church does not exact funds from the faithful for its sustenance, nor does it seek to contribute concretely to the building of hospitals, etc. The Ecclesiastics gain their livelihood through various benefices guaranteed to them by the Government and supported by funds and property bequeathed to the Church by the departed of the faithful. The most outstanding temporal contribution of the Ethiopian Church may be looked for in the field of culture. It could be safely said that the preservation of the Amharic and Geeze languages has been made possible through the agency of the Church. The learned priests and monks in the old monasteries have still to their credit learned manuscripts pertaining to the history of the Church, the nation and its civilization. Moreover, Church schools abound in every corner of the country where the Church is found, this institution still influencing to a great extent the policy on national education. In the first half of the Twentieth Century, through the guidance of His Majesty the Emperor, the Theological School was opened to train ecclesiastical personnel for the extension and elevation of the Ethiopian Church.

It is clear that concurrently with the long and interesting history of Ethiopia runs that of the Christian Church. Indeed, it forms an indispensable part of the chronicle of events which goes to make up the history of that ancient nation. Today, the instituted church of the realm, the Ethiopian Church, founded over sixteen centuries ago, has had to move progressively to fit into the social and political pattern of New Ethiopia. Most of the church property represents bestowals from the Crown, and even today, it is necessary for high ecclesiastical appointments to have the assent of the Emperor. Not only are Their Imperial Majesties among the leading observers of the Faith, their moral and material support to the Church, to religious education and Church charities is abundant. Authority is therefore highly tempered by the moral and spiritual force of the Church.

Far from being a transient or superficial organism, the Ethiopian Church has its roots deeply embedded in the customs and mores of the people for multiplied generations. It has been shaping the outlook of the people all this time, and still maintains a strong hold on their moral values. It is said that no greater cohesive force was evident during the Italian occupation than the Ethiopian Church. The occupiers, realizing this fact, attempted to make it a vassal of their authority, but failed. It

stood as the impregnable resistance against the invader. Even the martyrdom of Abuna Petros and Abba Mikael, who preferred to die than use their office to dishonor the cause, was resorted to without any avail. On the unveiling of the monument erected in honor of Abuna Petros, His Imperial Majesty said, most appropriately: *"We have met today to commemorate by our presence the martyrdom of an Ethiopian patriot who consecrated with his blood the place on which We now stand, in defence of the principles of religion and of the uncompromising resistance against the forces of aggression."*

Failing to break the moral and religious patriotism of the clergy and the people, the Italians systematically burned churches (like the Mohammedans in the sixteenth century) throughout the country. They plundered religious objects and desecrated shrines; they massacred the educated youth. All this because the Church stood as a challenge to their attempt to debase the moral standard of the people through terrorism. The Church suffered both materially and spiritually during those awesome years. It had to be rebuilt; it had to be resuscitated. His Majesty the Emperor, not oblivious of the necessity to rehabilitate the Church along with the material agencies of the people's life, took a swift hand in shoring the foundations of the institution.

In 1942, Regulations for the administration of the Church were proclaimed. This law dealt with the regulation of church property in such phases as taxes, fiefs granted by the Government, and ecclesiastic incomes. In its twelve articles, the Proclamation sets up the legal jurisdiction of the Church; the basis of election and emoluments of the clergy; the custody of its landed property and its money; and the appointment of the Ecclesiastical Council. This edict is now operative throughout the length and breadth of the country.

When naming the members of the Board of Education, His Majesty the Emperor, true to the traditions of the country and recognizing the part that this institution plays in the life of civilized man, said: *"Belief in the Creator is the surest foundation of any civilization. This belief preserves civilization from decay and from evil. In putting forward Our efforts today to build Ethiopia's education, We believe that We must include and strengthen Our spiritual belief. We feel it therefore fit and proper to include the Church on this Board, and appoint Like Sultanat Meliktu to represent the Church."*

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

Defence

In contemplating important activities of the Ethiopian people, it becomes necessary to include one that is most important in this troubled world of ours—I mean, defence. In this the historical background is most important, if to show what the Ethiopian people have done to safeguard their nation and to thus preserve the integrity of their country for all these centuries. Ethiopians believe and have sustained the belief, that freedom must be fought for and guarded by their blood. It has so happened that at all times throughout their history, these people have risen up as a man to meet the onslaught of those who would violate the sacredness of their territorial heritage. A substantial part of their history, ancient, medieval and modern is the dramatic story of self-defence, excepting those years of internal wars fought primarily for the unification of their polity.

Among the many sketches written of Ethiopia, spears, shields, and other paraphernalia of primitive warfare are used to picture the men on the plateau as fierce warriors. Most of this work is usually done with the motive to show the primitivity and rudeness of their martial efforts. As to the people themselves, they still keep to the vogue of showing at every festival their brave, courageous and war-like instincts. Many a grandchild still cherishes the spear of his forebears as the greatest of mementoes. Many tribesmen, by a species of transference, don the skin of the lion and of other menacing beasts as reminiscence of the dogged prowess of their elders. It still remains excellent taste, in certain areas of that country, to sport holster and bullet belts, full or empty, all day long, as a mark of leadership. Though quaint to the foreign visitor and even trifling, these and other manifestations of similar nature may not strike a very enthusiastic note, but remain in truth and in fact the readings of the very nature of the people. Though normally peaceful,

by dint of the age-old experiences of the past, the Ethiopian is a fierce warrior.

And this characteristic grew up as of necessity. Continuously fighting against invasion from without and sustaining military rivalry within, military exploits protrude in every age of these people's history. The two most recent encounters in defence of their hearth and home is a saga of personal sacrifice paid all too willingly by the Ethiopian patriots, men, women and children in self-defence. The mother of King Galaudeos, Empress Sabla Wangel, commanding an Ethiopian army, joined battle on the field with Don Christopher da Gama against Gragn, the Moslem invader; Empress Taitu, the spouse of Menelik II, led her men against the Italians in Adowa. These women may be taken as an example among others to show that the arts of war, forced upon them by necessity, have left their indelible stamp on the character of the people of the country. The present list of titles of the Ethiopian aristocracy is telling proof of this historical legacy, and has become part of the present-day social pattern.

The person known as 'Ras' is equivalent to Commander, its literal meaning being 'head'; a 'Fiturarari' is equal to a General; a 'Dejasmatch' is what would be known in modern military rank as Major General; a 'Kegnasmatch' is the leader of the left flank; a 'Grazmatch' is the leader of the right flank; an 'Azmatch' is what would be considered today as a battalion commander; and so forth. It is significant that these titles have survived years of application, and today carry with them certain social weight—the present Emperor, in a civil sense, still bestows such titles in the same way as the peerage and other titles are bestowed by the King of England.

The subject of Ethiopia's defence today cannot be thought of without considering, to at least a brief extent, what took place in the latter half of the nineteenth century, climaxing what is known as the Battle of Adowa. Ethiopia's geographic position makes her an approach to the Nile Valley. The three important tributaries of the Nile—Sobat, the Blue Nile and Atbara—rise in her mountains and are the principal sources of the annual flood so essential to the life and prosperity of Egypt and the Sudan. For geographic reasons, therefore, the destiny of Ethiopia is tied up very closely with those of these two physical neighbors. The political and diplomatic intrigues which led to Adowa, and which still have some weight in Ethiopia's external relations today, spring, in part, from their geo-political background, plus that of the Red

Sea which has long been considered of tremendous importance to naval powers.

The latter half of the nineteenth century saw the consolidation of colonial holdings in the Horn of Africa. British statesmen then were anxious to prevent expeditions of other nations from penetrating from the east coast into the Nile Valley and to protect their then Egyptian interests. The French, who since 1856, at Ambaba and Obok, had planted themselves in this area, had intentions of establishing a naval base in the Red Sea and of securing the commerce of Harar, Shoa and Southern Ethiopia. Between 1883 and 1887, a French protectorate was established in this region. Since 1843, the French have held a treaty of friendship and commerce with Ethiopia.

The desire for spheres of influence in this part of Africa made Ethiopia the bone of contention between Britain, France and Italy. This was the time of sheer colonial rivalry, when each European nation in quest of colonial expansion jockeyed for favorable positions. Intrigue was rife. They sent expeditions to Ethiopia to court her favor and were jealous of each other. The Italians, like the French, had planted a colony in East Africa. The story of the Rubattino purchase of Assab in 1849 as a coaling station is well known. After the Italian Government had failed in their aspirations in Tunis in 1882, they took over Assab from the Rubattino Steamship Company and thence began their forceful expansion into Ethiopian territory.

By 1887, the French, Italian and British had divided the Somali coast and Egypt had been occupied by the British. The stage was then set for the counterplay and interplay of forces which led up to the Battle of Adowa and which culminated in the Italian aggression of 1935. By subsequent moves after the taking over of Assab, the Italians had established what is today known as Eritrea. From there they began to push into the interior—into the rest of Ethiopian territory. To the west, they were checked by a crushing defeat at Dogali. To retrieve their falling fortune, the famous treaty of Uccialli was concluded with Emperor Menelik II in May 1889. Through a bilingual disagreement, Italy claimed that this treaty gave them the right of a Protectorate over Ethiopia. Despite the force of the facts, Italy continued to believe and to assert that Ethiopia was an Italian sphere of influence.

Then began the protocols between Italy and Britain. In the first two of 1891, Britain decided to recognize Ethiopia as an Italian sphere of influence. Lines of demarcation were agreed upon between their respec-

tive spheres in East Africa, the Upper Nile, the Eastern Sudan and Somaliland. In 1894, another protocol was entered into in which, significantly enough, as far as British recognition was concerned, the whole of Ethiopia was an Italian Protectorate. Part of this third agreement was to be published and part, dealing with regions around Harar, to be secret. According to Italian sources, in the secret section, England was to have the right to temporary control over Ethiopia including the Harar region until Italy was in a position to assert its authority over the country. France protested on the ground that in a previous Anglo-French treaty of 1888, the two countries had affirmed the independence of Ethiopia. The Anglo-Italian treaty was however not withdrawn.

With the British protocols and the Treaty of Uccialli to support their claims, the Italians proceeded to pose as the protectors of the land of the Lion of the Tribe of Judah. Emperor Menelik II, however, did not wish to use the Italians as intermediary, and upon his ascension to the throne, despatched announcements of his coronation directly to the different European States.

Article 17 of the treaty of Uccialli and the Anglo-Italian protocols therefore came into question. In addition, the Italians began to encroach on Ethiopian territory. A boundary dispute ensued. Between 1890 and 1893, the relations between Italy and Ethiopia were considerably strained, and on February 12th, 1893, Emperor Menelik II denounced the Treaty of Uccialli. His significant words then were: *"Ethiopia has need of no one; she stretches out her hands unto God."* War did not immediately follow the denunciation of the Treaty of Uccialli, the Italians spending the following year to persuade the Ethiopian Monarch to submit to the Protectorate. Meanwhile, through making unorthodox use of their Consulates and their other diplomatic missions in Ethiopia, the Italians started a policy of espionage, intriguing with the chiefs within the country. They were having trouble with the Dervishes in the Sudan and therefore sought the support of the British. This was the period of protocols and secret agreements and the conclusion of the 1894 Agreement between Italy and Britain.

In 1895, the Italians began to move forward. They occupied Adowa "with great pomp and little resistance." Finally they clashed with Ras Mangasha's and Ras Makonnen's forces at Makale. Their invasion was stemmed and the climax of the encounter came on March 1st, 1896 in their overwhelming defeat at Adowa.

At the turn of the century, therefore, Ethiopian security was none-

the-less tenuous. Menelik II did not press his advantage in the Battle of Adowa, because he wanted to get back to his program of establishing a sound administration. The course of battle in which the Italian forces were terribly battered lay in the direct line of throwing them into the Red Sea. Had this position been taken, the question of Eritrea would have been settled then once and for all. Italy took advantage of this gentleman's approach of the Ethiopian victors and from that time on prepared feverishly to even the score and eventually to realize its long dream of conquest. Ethiopian intelligence knew full well that the design of the enemy was not completely discarded; the people manoeuvered for peace and neighborly community with Italy, signed treaties of friendship and accord with Rome, only to find that in 1934, just four years after the ascendancy of Haile Selassie I, they had to face the same enemy, this time armed to the teeth and ready for the menacing onslaught.

Reminiscent of the 1890's another boundary dispute was engineered by Italy in Wal-Wal as the tinder to set off the flame of a long planned aggression against Ethiopia. The record shows that Haile Selassie First, Emperor, whose regime could be correctly called the era of peace and progressive construction, was preoccupied with the exertions of building up his country. Peace was the quintessence of the hour, and he had meticulously charted an international course which he believed and hoped would guarantee his Government and people the much needed condition of peace. Among his many moves to secure such a position was to make Ethiopia a member of the League of Nations. Strangely coincidental is the fact that Italy was one of the leading sponsors of this League membership; but apparently for a reason which was different to that which motivated Ethiopia to join.

Italy claimed that the now famous Wal-Wal in Ethiopian history was within the boundary of Italian Somaliland. At that stage of international dealings, such a dispute could have been easily reconciled; but this was adverse to the intention and purpose of the Duce. Bilateral and multilateral commissions were set up; the commissioners found that Italy's claims were unfounded; the League of Nations Commission called for arbitration; His Imperial Majesty used all his ingenuity and threw all his weight behind reaching a peaceful solution; but Italy decided to attack. She was poised for this attack, and thus threw to the winds treaties, pleas, the intervention of interested powers and even the Covenant of the League of Nations which guaranteed the integrity of

its members, in the firm belief that the time had struck to swallow up Ethiopia in her dream of *'Africa Orientale.'*

One of the most tragic, pathetic and yet dramatic chapters of the history of modern Ethiopia ensued. For Italy, the fascist régime under Mussolini had brought the land of Cavour and Mazzini down to the depths of heinous barbarity. Poison gas and other sub-human methods of warfare were resorted to to win the war. Although the Italians had been preparing for the encounter, had Eritrea and Somaliland as crowded military arsenals, with the advantage of using these two adjoining territories as springboards for the attack, with large well-trained armies equipped with modern weapons and enjoying an unmatched superiority in aviation support, it had to resort to yperite gas and poisoning to break the resistance of the untrained Ethiopian Patriot Armies. This inequality was aggravated by the fact that Ethiopians could not have secured the arms for defence, and even if the arms were available, being land-locked, the super-human problem was to get them to the valiant fighting patriots who rallied in every corner of the Empire in the defence of their ancient country.

Fascist Italy won an incomplete victory which confronted her with a most uneasy period of partial occupation of Ethiopia. The resistance took two methods: the diplomatic, waged by Haile Selassie First from Britain, the place of his voluntary exile, and the military, which took the form of the continued harassing of the unstable military occupation of parts of the country. Racing against time to build up Ethiopia as part of its 'Africa Orientale' dream and heckled on all sides by the unmitigated resistance of the Ethiopian Patriots who lived in the hills, the fascist invaders spent most of their time and energies in police efforts. The main idea was to exploit the land of Queen Sheba at the expense of the indigenous people to feed the fascist machine. Hair-raising are some of the stories written in the hearts of some of those surviving Ethiopians who lived through the five years of Italian occupation.

Mussolini and his men found to their utter distress and chagrin that the spirit of a proud people, be that their only quality, could not be broken by brute force. Highly illustrative of this was what is known today in Ethiopian history as the Graziani Massacre. As Viceroy, Marshal Graziani sought to assuage the people, the majority of whom had refused to cooperate, by offering alms to the poor and indigent. On February 19, 1937, he summoned the people to the Viceregal Palace

(the Imperial Palace) to display the generosity of his bloody régime. Two of the Ethiopian Patriots threw a bomb that nearly killed him. It is said that for days, Ethiopians, men, women, children, the sick and the aged were massacred in cold blood. Tens of thousands were killed or were put to unimaginable forms of torture. The bloody orgy spread to many places and arson and murder took the form of a Roman holiday. His Imperial Majesty has erected a monument in a square facing the Imperial Palace which has become a national shrine, the day being commemorated annually. His Excellency Bitwoded Makonnen Endalkatchew, the Ethiopian Prime Minister, in delivering a speech on one of these occasions, said:

"This monument around which we assemble serves both as a symbol of the unity of the Ethiopian people inscribed in blood and as a remembrance of the dreadful events which took place on February 19th 1937. . . .

"Every community, State or nation has moments which recall either trials or triumphs in which they pause to pay tribute or veneration to their members, living or dead, who, by their sacrificial acts, have contributed to the strengthening of their social, political or religious institutions. Sometimes they pay the supreme sacrifice, for honor and freedom are dearer than life itself."

The Graziani Massacre stiffened the resistance. The extermination of the intellectual class moved apace; but, by nature a fighting people, this resistance continued until aid came. Ethiopia was finally free and the cause of justice vindicated. While the people at home were facing the exploitation and repression of the occupiers, His Majesty the Emperor waged the diplomatic offensive which later, by a happy union of the two phases of the resistance, resulted in the expulsion of the enemy and his own triumphant return.

Behind events so far-reaching in the life of that nation must the machinery of defence be evaluated. Ethiopia needs peace; but has learnt from the bitterest experience that in a world like the one in which we live today provisions for security must be made. This entails preparation, supply and administration of a military nature to fit in with the financial means of the country. A look at the international picture of world armaments tells an awful story. Huge economic burdens are being borne by states in preparation for their defence. The industrial potential of the most powerful nations of the world suffers from this enormous drain; but, it is as essential for their peace and

progress as the necessity to keep the wheels of industry moving. Peace today can be guaranteed only by adequate defence. Ethiopia, not being an industrial country, must depend on securing the means of defence from world markets. She has the manpower, and the history of her defence and her traditions surely demonstrate the will of her people to protect their heritage.

The Armed Forces of Ethiopia are under the supreme command of His Majesty the Emperor, with the Ministry of War responsible for the organization, training and administration thereof. Immediately after the Liberation, the Ethiopian Armed Forces consisted of fragmentary units—the Imperial Bodyguard, the Regular Army, the Territorial Army, the Patriot Armies and the Ethiopian Air Force. Since then, the Regulars and the Territorials have been consolidated. Before the Italian invasion of 1935, His Imperial Majesty had sent many deserving Ethiopian young men to Europe to train as professional soldiers. In addition, he had opened the Military School at Holotta with European military instructors to train officers on the spot. These men constituted the trained vanguard around which the large patriot or citizen armies had risen to defend the country against the enemy in 1935. They had not enough time to complete their officers' course and the cadre was insufficient for the mammoth task into which they were pressed. It is said, however, they acquitted themselves very creditably under the circumstances.

Part of the Anglo-Ethiopian Treaty of 1942, when His Imperial Majesty had returned and had taken over the civil administration from the British occupation authorities, provided for a Military Mission to assist the Ethiopian Government in organizing and training the armies of national defence. It was by this treaty that the Ogaden was given to the British Government to assist in the "successful prosecution of the war." The British Military Mission to Ethiopia took a leading part in training the Ethiopian Army, saw its personnel reduced as years passed and finally ended in early 1951. The Haile Selassie First Military Academy which is now the new name for the Military School instituted by His Imperial Majesty before the Italian invasion was until recently under the direction of officers of the British Military Mission with several Ethiopian officers participating as instructors. As Commander-in-Chief of the Ethiopian Armed Forces, His Majesty the Emperor has engaged a Belgian Major-General as his personal military adviser.

The Minister of War is a Cabinet member wielding administrative authority, in direct contact with the Ministerial Council and His Majesty the Emperor. While over-all military organization is in the hands of the Ministry of War, the Imperial Bodyguard is under the immediate command of the Emperor and is headed by an Ethiopian Brigadier General with Headquarters in the Imperial Palace Court. The Ethiopian Air Force is also under a specialized command receiving its directives directly from His Majesty the Emperor. What is known as the Patriots Army is that body of men who stand ready at a moment's notice to join hands with the constituted armies of defence—the volunteers.

As to the strength of the Ethiopian Armed Forces, it is estimated to be between 50,000 and 60,000 officers and men. The Imperial Bodyguard consists of a variant of between three or four battalions of infantry. This brigade exists ostensibly for the personal protection of the Sovereign, but they are highly trained to fight in the field. Many of their numbers fought valiantly in the trenches during the wars of defence and liberation and are to be found among the over a thousand men now serving under the United Nations Command in Korea. The Imperial Bodyguard is stationed in Addis Ababa, detachments of which accompany the Emperor on his tours into the country.

The consolidated Regular Army is one of authorized establishments, enlistment being voluntary and for a period of seven years. Cadets for commissions are trained in the Haile Selassie First Military Academy; there are various training and educational establishments which supply the personnel for technical branches of the Army; and boys from the age of 15-17 years of age are voluntarily enlisted for 3 years into units of the Army with a view to learning a trade. The Army consists of infantry battalions, Signals, Engineers, Artillery (comprising 2 field batteries and 1 training battery), Armored Car Regiment, Army Service Corps, M.T. Companies and a Medical Corps.

The Ethiopian Air Force with its Training Center now at Harar Meda, Bishoftu, is at present the nucleus for the Ethiopian Military Air arm. Civil aviation was instituted in 1929, to be exact, on August 15th of that year, with the first plane imported from France. It was the deed which followed the thought of His Imperial Majesty for the establishment of air communications in Ethiopia with the outside world. After the Military Training School was opened at Ganat on February

15th, 1935, to train Ethiopian youth in the art of modern warfare, the Ethiopian Air Force School at Akaki followed almost immediately, staffed with foreign instructors, the Government convinced that the two services might grow to be defenders of Ethiopia's liberty. Naturally, this phase of the military preparedness of the country was eclipsed by the Italo-Ethiopian war of the same year, the Patriots facing the enemy without adequate air protection.

In 1945, Afro-American aviators were engaged, under the leadership of Col. John C. Robinson from the Chanute Air Training Center in Chicago, to reinstitute the Air Force training which had been arrested by the war. Air cadets were registered and began basic training in the arts of aviation with creditable results. At that time the training was done in Akaki, and many of the present pilots and other aviation ground personnel in the Air Force received their basic training from these men. It became necessary thereafter, to reorganize the set-up, and instructors from Sweden under Col. Count von Rosen were engaged to carry forward the work. The Air Force Training Center now located at Bishoftu was re-inaugurated on November 13th, 1947. Since then many Ethiopian youth have received their wings and a sizable number of aviation mechanics, radio operators and ground crew personnel have been and are being trained there. The majority of planes used in this Centre are imported from Sweden, although the original trainers included two Cesnas from the United States delivered on the lend-lease basis.

In Ethiopia it is realized that in modern warfare, unlike the wars fought by the forefathers, the foot soldier must be supported by mechanized artillery units and by an air force. Not being an aggressive nation, the Ethiopian Air Force is expected to be moderate, but efficient. There is at present no Ethiopian of superior military rank in command of the Ethiopian Air Force; Colonel Asafa Ayele works with Col. Count von Rosen, Principal Instructor of the Training Center as Liaison Officer. The majority of the planes of the Ethiopian Air Force at this time are fabricated in Sweden by the Swedish Aircraft Company. They were used by the Royal Swedish Air Force for attack, using bombs and guns, for reconnaisance and for taking photographs. They carry a crew of two, have a cruising range of about 1,000 English miles, with a gross tonnage when loaded of 3 to 4 tons. Provided with good armor for the protection of the crew, these trainers are known as the single-engined B-17.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

The City of the New Flower

Addis Ababa, the capital city of Ethiopia, eludes accurate description here. Situated over 8,000 feet above sea level, with an ideal climate for the greater part of the year, it is the hub of the political, social, and spiritual life of the nation. Among the capitals of the world, though the center of one of the oldest nations, this city is of recent origin; for it was founded by Menelik II in 1886. At the unification of the country, the Province of Shoa was the seat of the Central Government. The capital city then was built on top of the Entoto mountain which now lies to the north of the present site. Paying an official visit to his subjects who lived in this spot, then known as "Finfinie," the Emperor was so attracted by the number of hot springs, the flowers and general natural aspects of the place that he decided to move the capital there. Government offices were first moved over, and little by little the city grew, becoming officially in 1889, the Capital of the nation.

An Imperial Palace was built by Menelik II, which today is more like a shrine, the Mausoleum containing his remains forming part of the compound. On occasions its great halls are used by Their Imperial Majesties for banquets and other State functions. After Haile Sellassie's Coronation in 1930, a new Imperial Palace was constructed, which today serves as the Imperial Court with an additional structure recently erected as His Imperial Majesty's Secretariat. The Imperial Compound which is artistically landscaped has many other detached buildings in which such offices as those of the Ministerial Council, the Ministries of Pen and Agriculture, the Imperial Bodyguard Headquarters, His Majesty's Private Secretary's office and bureaux of other ancillary services are housed. His Imperial Majesty's office is the pulse of the nation, for there, from the early hours of the day until late into the evening, flows almost uninterruptedly the stream of audiences, in-

terviews and other contacts with the high and the lowly. When His Majesty the Emperor is in his Palace, the Ethiopian flag with the Court-of-Arms embossed in gold flies on the mast above. The foundation stone for the construction of a new Great Palace was laid on November 3rd, 1947, on the observance of the seventeenth anniversary of His Imperial Majesty's Coronation. His speech on that occasion should serve to highlight the history of the city of Addis Ababa. I quote it in full for that reason:

"We thank the Almighty, Who in His goodness helped and protected Us to be at this moment with Our beloved People, ever the object of Our solicitude.

"Today, November 3rd, 1947, on the Seventeenth Anniversary of Our Coronation, We lay the foundation stone of this Imperial Palace in Our Capital, Addis Ababa, to be for Our Government a symbol of greatness.

"This Capital of Ours whose monuments and statues testify to the splendour of Ethiopia's history was, prior to its foundation in 1886 by the Great Emperor Menelik II, no more than hills of pasture and of forest.

"In 1830 Our Great Grandfather, King Sahle Selassie the Great, came from Ankober on a visit to his subjects, and while camping on this very spot pronounced these prophetic words. 'In this place my children and great-grandchildren will be crowned and will rule.'

"This prophesy was fulfilled fifty-seven years later when his grandson Emperor Menelik II in 1886, cleared the forest and founded this city, changing the name of the place from Finfinie to Addis Ababa. Since 1889 it has been the Capital of Our Empire.

"Following the victory of Emperor Menelik II over the Italian Army at Adowa in 1896, the peace treaty was signed in this city on October 26th, thus spreading its fame to the world and illuminating Ethiopia's sovereignty.

"On September 27th, 1916, when Her Majesty Empress Zawditu ascended the Throne, We were chosen in this city of Addis Ababa by Our people to be Heir Apparent to the Throne and Regent with full power to conduct the affairs of the State.

"From that day when the responsibility to protect the people of Ethiopia was vested in Us by the Almighty, and ever in the fulfilment of the duty of guiding Our people, We have not spared any effort to

bring Ethiopia's friendship with the nations of the world closer and to coordinate Our internal and foreign policies.

"To fulfill Our desire to erect monuments and statues in memory of those who rendered great services to Ethiopia in order that the coming generations may be inspired by their deeds and be proud of their nation's history, We erected on November 1st, 1930, in Our Capital a Monument to Emperor Menelik II.

"Our Coronation ceremony on November 2nd, 1930, was celebrated in the presence of special envoys and representatives of twelve Great Nations and was performed among Our Princes, Our notables, Our armed forces and Our people.

"Ethiopia being then a member of the League of Nations, and it being Our desire to secure to Our people the benefits of civilization, We have by Our own good will granted it a Constitution to define the powers and authority of the Government.

"Throughout Our every effort to achieve for Our people a higher standard of living, the building of an Imperial Palace for Our people to be proud of and to be symbolic of the greatness of Our country was one of the achievements We had always planned.

"But when Ethiopia's enemy attacked Us, We, in order to defend Our independence, were obliged to change Our peaceful program to a program of war, and for this reason Our desire was postponed until this day.

"In those days We put Our unshakable hope in Almighty God and waited with patience for His generosity.

"When the time prescribed by God for His help came, We drove Our enemy after many struggles out of Our country. In this same place from which We declared war on Our enemy, Our independence for the moment weakened, was reanimated, and We were able to lay down the foundation stone for the Imperial Palace, in the midst of Our Princes, Notables, Ministers and Army.

"This place where the enemy encamped his troops and laid down his military stores and instruments of aggression, has been by the Grace of God blessed again, and today We set down in Our Capital Addis Ababa, the foundation stone for the Imperial Palace comparable to the Mausoleum, the monuments and the statues erected in memory of the martyrs, heroes and patriots who sacrificed their lives for their country and for the other famous servants of Ethiopia.

"In laying the foundation stone of this Imperial Palace, We re-

member Our well-known patriots who died for their country rather than submit to Our enemy then invading Our country Ethiopia.

"We rest Our confidence in Almighty God for the completion of the Imperial Palace.

"MAN PROPOSES AND GOD DISPOSES"

Though a city of monuments, Addis Ababa is not famed for the historic lore and the antiquity to be found elsewhere in the country. Its landmarks tell the story of Ethiopia in modern times and particularly in this century. The greatness of Menelik is marked by an equestrian statue with a life-sized figure of the Monarch on his favorite charger. This memorial, unveiled by Haile Selassie on the eve of his Coronation in 1930, stands on a Square which bears the name of Menelik. In fact, while viewing this statue, one is facing the St. George's Church, itself monumental, and less than a quarter of a mile south, stands one of the most recent dedications, that of the Abuna Petros' Monument, unveiled on May 5th, 1948. The Menelik Mausoleum, a large dome-like structure, stands in the old Palace compound in which the remains of that Emperor, of Empress Zawditu and of other Princes lie. Incidentally, the new Imperial Palace is to be built almost under the shadow of the Menelik Mausoleum.

There is a bust size monument erected over a fountain of Ras Makonnen, father of the present Emperor, astride Haile Selassie First Avenue; two obelisks on the route from the Imperial Palace to the old or Menelik Palace—one in honor of those who were massacred by Marshal Graziani on February 19th, 1937, and the other for those who fell on the battlefield in defence of their country against the invader and in the campaign of liberation. In the church yard of the Trinity Cathedral, one of the most modern church structures in the country, is found the cenotaphs in which the bones and skulls of those who were found tortured by the Fascists are buried. In this Church are the tombs prepared as the last resting place of the present sovereign. Squares, schools, hospitals and other institutions serving the living are found also in commemorative honor of others who have served in the call and duty of modern Ethiopia.

The term Addis Ababa, in the national tongue, means "New Flower," a most appropriate name for the city for many reasons. Even in the prolonged dry weather, there is always verdure in the town.

The eucalyptus groves, found everywhere, preserve the vegetal life of the place and make it a beautiful and vibrant panorama, most especially from the air, or from elevated spots. Another very evident feature of the city is the Masqual flowers which at a set time and season of the year appear and adorn her. From about the fifteenth of September every year the countryside is ornate with the yellow golden sepals which carpet the city floor. Like the appearance of the cherry blossoms in the United States Capital each Spring, so it is with these yellow missives of light and joy bestowed by Nature on the City of the New Flower. Ethiopia itself on the top of the world, it is a magnificent sight to be on the Entoto mountain and look down on Addis Ababa. In the evening, the beauty seems to pierce one with enchantment, the electric lights peeping like candle flies from behind the shading groves of eucalyptus. So far as geographical position is concerned, the city is like the center of a wheel from which not only authority, but all the other streams of the life of the people meet as it were in a confluence.

In comparison with other capital cities, Addis Ababa is not planned, it grew up to meet time and circumstance, and therefore sprawls over a very large area, the zones for urban activity not definitely laid out. During the occupation, the Italians sought to build homes with the expressed purpose of restricting the movement of the Ethiopians. They considered parts of the town residential and constructed some dwellings to meet that plan. It is true, however, that the purpose defeated their aim, because the houses were hurriedly built and few of them today betray any wish for permanence. Ethiopians were not encouraged to build, and even if they wished to do so, the tenure of the occupation was too precarious—many of their homes were commandeered for the use of the occupiers. The sanitary facilities which they provided were primarily designed to serve special areas. This, coupled with the fact that in 1889 there was no overall plan, has made Addis Ababa a city which needs modern planning.

The Ethiopian Government and the Addis Ababa Municipality, in order to beautify the city and to make it more worthy, have for some few years now contemplated to modernize it along lines of the latest, most commodious and artistic design. For this reason, Sir Patrick Abercrombie, British expert in town planning, was invited in 1946, to study and recommend plans to redesign the city. His reports

were submitted, but because of more urgent projects, work has not as yet begun. Since that time much has been done on a piece-meal basis to keep, provide and expand the amenities of the town. Many new houses were built and are now being built; but because of the influx of people perpetually into the city, housing still remains one of the major problems.

Many more permits for building new homes and buildings have been given by the Municipal authorities, but since the desire to modernize Addis Ababa persists, some of the permits were denied. The disallowance of many of these has been caused by the desire of the Municipality to avoid wasteful and improvident building until the plan for making the city is finally put under way. The overall remodeling reports have taken into consideration this important question. Three sections of the town have already been surveyed and reported suitable as the first residential areas to be built up. It is envisaged that the matter of zoning and modern building regulations will have to be met so as to follow the most recent development in city dwellings. It is true, in spite of these problems, that the City of the New Flower has put on a new and cheerful dress since the restoration, and the number of prospective home builders continues to increase.

The water supply of the city has been a constant and absorbing interest of the Municipality of Addis Ababa. The present system of water provision of the town is through reservoirs and springs. Purified water is available and piped to most all of the modern houses and to fountains where the people, with their jars, go to obtain it for use in dwellings without pipe connections. The pressure of population and the increase of modern homes have for some time now shown that the supply is inadequate to satisfy the growing need. Not that a crisis has been as yet reached, but the anticipated consumption has given rise to the problem of increasing the water supply of the city.

Investigational experiments have been on foot for some time now to find out how this water problem can best be solved, either through well-boring or increased water catchment areas west of the city. The results so far have been very encouraging, and show that there is an abundance of water under the foothills. In boring half way up the mountain, at depths of from 60 to 90 meters, the supply has shown from 100,000 to 200,000 liters per day per well. These experiments are still being pursued in order to determine the best and most adequate flow. To facilitate the best service possible under present circum-

stances, many of the old water mains have been replaced by new and larger ones.

Addis Ababa streets and avenues are day by day taxed by greater and greater traffic—directly resultant from the growth of the town. With most of them macadamized and the main ones paved, much of the time and expense has been spent in maintenance and repairs, although more recently, a few new streets have been constructed. Automatic signal lights have been installed along the main lanes, because of the quite noticeable rise in automotive, diesel, and, in some sections, animal and human traffic.

Since the restoration many trees have been planted and drains provided to add to the beauty of the city and the comfort of its residents.

The road building and maintenance activity seen in the Addis Ababa streets is planned by the Municipality with a view to keeping the present arteries of traffic open and most viable. Apart from other considerations, new construction, sorely needed in some sections, still awaits a more detailed survey of the city primarily in conformity with the desire to modernize it. Naturally, the kind of streets to be made would depend on various needs, such as residential areas, industrial areas, main thoroughfares leading out and into the city, etc. The location of parks and other recreational and cultural centers would have a large share in determining what should be done in accordance with the overall plan.

The question of taxation is one of prime importance in every modern community. Government, in the last analysis, is the accepted media of cooperative effort of citizens for the organization and administration of public services for the protection and general welfare of the public. It becomes at once the main-spring of organized society, whether it be in a village, a township, a city, a state, a nation, or, as the trend is today, a world community.

No form of government can exist long without the power to levy and collect taxation. And this power must be exercised in a manner which will guarantee adequate revenue to provide the many services which the citizen expects from the administration. The application of taxes uniformly on the various classes of people affected and their variation to meet the growing needs of the government make the taxing power one of constitutional importance.

The Addis Ababa Municipality, with its Charter from the Min-

istry of Interior, has had to re-organize its taxation provisions as published in 1945, to bring them in line with both the growth and progress of the city. Under the Municipal Proclamation No. 74 of 1945, Article 11, The Municipal Tax Assessment Committee, provided for in the Standing Orders of the Municipal Council, has the right to revise taxation according to the needs of the hour. The Municipal Council of Addis Ababa, composed in the majority of representatives of the people of the city, holds the taxing power to raise revenue. The Council has been charged by the Central Government to make Addis Ababa, without avoidable delay, a modern Capital City.

The taxes, licenses and fees authorized to be levied by the Municipality and specified in the appropriate Legal Notices, include: General rates, Water rates, Trade Licenses, Market fees and various fees for services rendered. As Licensing Officers, the Municipality also collects fees for driving permits and for other vehicle and carriage licenses. Year after year the city's revenue as well as its estimates are growing, the Municipality being ever conscious of its responsibilities towards the general public and especially towards the poorer and less vocal classes. Many free services are rendered to the public, such as water fountains, the Fire Brigade, street lighting service and pauper services in case of the burial of the poor.

In reference to this matter of taxation in Addis Ababa, of prime importance to the taxpayer and the Revenue Department of the Municipality, the policy of the Council has had to be continuously revised to cope with the changing exigencies. They have had to keep in line with the general modernization of the nation-wide tax system. The tax-payer in Addis Ababa, the Capital, and the largest township in Ethiopia, in view of the increasing services which the remodeling of the city would entail, must be always ready and willing to pay higher rates. All roads seem to lead to a brighter and happier Addis Ababa, City of the New Flower.

By what authority and under whose hands does the administration of the Capital City fall? In the chapter on internal administration it was stated that the Director-General of Administrative Services in the Ministry of Interior has to do with Municipalities and Townships. In the case of Addis Ababa, however, while under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of the Interior, there is a special Charter which sets forth its authority, functions and limitations. In this document provisions are

made for the Municipal Council, vested with legislative and administrative authority, and headed by the *Kantiba* or Mayor of the town. It is a single-chamber body, and today, of its twenty-five members, seventeen are elective and eight appointive.

The term of office of the elective members of the Council is for three years, one-third of these offices expiring each year. Their decisions have to do with the 300,000 inhabitants of the Capital City. Such matters as taxation, housing, lighting, sanitation and public health, public safety, the beautifying of the city and the provision of other civic amenities, come within the scope of their deliberations and within their administrative jurisdiction. Under the chairmanship of the Kantiba, the Municipal Council has the responsibility to legislate for and administer the day-to-day activities which embrace the life and interests of the residents from the cradle to the grave. The obvious progress of the city is clear indication of the manner in which their duties and responsibilities are carried forward.

In line with the overall progressive program of the nation, and in conformity with the constitutional plan of building a democratic system of government throughout the nation, the fact of a two-thirds majority of elective members in the Addis Ababa Council points the trend. With the increasing growth of the town the responsibilities of the elected servants of the people are steadily growing. Such public services as adequate and pure water supply, the control of traffic, the abatement of nuisances, the safeguard of public morals, and in general the multitude of services demanded by the importance and size of the city, call for prompt and efficient action. These, among other duties, make the position of the Addis Ababa Municipal Council very important.

In this modern age electricity plays a very telling part in the life of any city. The Addis Ababa Electricity Undertaking, now the Shoa Electric and Power Company, takes care of this service. During the occupation the Italians consolidated and expanded the electricity enterprise. At the restoration, the Custodian of Enemy Property took it over and assigned its running to Messrs. Balfour Beaty & Company, a British firm. As an index of the progress of the city, the sales and service have kept expanding daily, residents taking increasing advantage of this modern convenience.

Consumer service has trebled since 1942, and those who have seen

the city streets at night, say, then and now, can testify to the fact that street lighting has seen enormous extension. Formerly only the main thoroughfares were lighted, but now the system has and is extended to all neighborhoods on the perimeter of the city. The residents have grown to recognize that "Electricity is insurance against crime and assurance of safety."

As the standard of living increases, greater and greater demands are being made on the electric supply source of the town, which tax the physical possibilities of the present plant. At present the supply is provided mainly by a hydro-electric station situated at Aba Samuel, about 20 miles away. This station, in turn, is provided with water from the Akaki Lake by means of a canal, a little over three miles long. The power generated is transmitted to Addis Ababa by means of an overhead line operating at 45,000 volts. In addition, there is a stand-by terminal station in Addis Ababa itself, which is capable of dealing with only a third of the peak load. The heaviest load on the system occurs in the evening between six and ten p.m., this load being double that of the day. Industrial consumption, though moving slower, has been increasing steadily also. Here of late, the city dwellers have been putting up a steady demand for domestic electric time and labor saving appliances.

It has been observed that the hydro-electric unit at Aba Samuel could be expanded to relieve the pressure on the present plant, and to anticipate further modernization of the town. The water supply could be geared up with adequate piping structure to accommodate additional generating plants, which under present demand are necessary, for the increased supply would have been greater had it been possible to maintain full voltage. Then again, it is axiomatic that the proposed remodeling of the capital must revolve around the possibility of an adequate electricity supply.

Haile Selassie First Square marks the center of the Capital. Around it is located the State Bank of Ethiopia, the Shoa Electric Light and Power Company, King George Bar, with the shopping center running for a radius of about a half mile in both directions of the Avenue. This central zone is commonly known after the Italian nomenclature as the "Piazza" of which any and everyone speaks as a matter of course. From this part of the city, with its taxi stands, bus terminal, cinemas, shops and offices, cafes, photo studios, United

States Information Service Reading Room, book shops, tailoring and dressmaking establishments, beauticians and barbers, and flanked on either side by the General Post Office and the Municipality Compound, radiates the activity of the Capital City.

Each city in the world, like an individual, has its foibles, its idiosyncrasies. In Addis Ababa I think the type of market activity and the "gharries" constitute these. When I refer to market activity, mention is particularly made to the "Addis Katama" or New Market found to the south of the center. In this mart, very typical of the East, the complexion of the city is completely changed from the sections around the Bank and cinema district. Apart from the fact that almost every item of purchase can be found there, the rustic and indigenous character of the place and the milling crowd, merchants, hucksters and purchasers, present a panorama of quaintness. Local as well as imported merchandise is available here, prices always subject to change and ever sensitive to supply and demand. For instance, there are certain middle-men and street peddlers who obtain wares from the owner of stalls and sell them in other sections of the town, using the method of quoting high, and sometimes selling at a price totally out of any reasonable comparison to the first quotation. There is a sort of uncanny deftness in making transactions, these people taking great pride in their manipulations. To know at what prices cereals, coffee, hides, etc. are quoted from one given moment to another, go to Addis Katama.

In the early hours of the morning, and sometimes through some streets during the day, may be seen caravans of pack animals laden with articles of one sort or another wending their way to the New Market in time for market. Conversely, in the evenings these animals are on their return trip, sometimes taking the things bought for the family use or, in most instances, free from burdens. Trucks, full of persons or merchandise, coming and going from the outlying districts, comprise an unending stream of transport activity. Choice animals for sale are led to their appropriate stalls where buyers can see them and make their purchases, for livestock is a major item in this busy mart. Native art and items of antique and rare trinkets all abound there. In essence, in Addis Katama one can find everything from a needle to a crowbar.

For social life, Addis Ababa provides a charming and even elab-

orate variety. The five cinema houses, showing films of the United States, British, Indian and Egyptian movie production industries, keep those interested regularly supplied. At Jan Meda, the famous recreational paddock where thousands upon thousands of Ethiopians and other city residents go to take part in celebrations of Great Day festivities, there is periodic horse racing run by the Imperial Racing Club. Jimkana, polo, track, gymnastics and other athletic meets also are staged there. For boxing contests and wrestling bouts, Cinema Ethiopia Hall is the place of rendezvous. During the football season, the Haile Selassie First Stadium sees enormous crowds of fans and spectators when there are played national or international games. Several athletic clubs compete for trophies under the direction of the Ethiopian Sports Federation; school and inter-school athletic sessions are prevalent. Basketball, a recent arrival on the sports scene, is now a frequent treat, and tennis, swimming and fishing in the Bishoftu Lake, or rowing on the Garfessa Lake form the major part of the outdoor recreation of an ever-growing number of participants and spectators.

Ethiopians are reputed to be very hospitable people. This trait reaches its highest point in their deep love for giving parties and for entertaining guests. The wedding ceremony apart, which has been dealt with separately, indoor social communion marks a high spot in the social habit of the people throughout the country. In Addis Ababa this phenomenon reaches its peak.

In the Imperial Court, necessarily the hall mark of Ethiopian society, banquets, dinners, cocktail parties and other ceremonial gatherings are notable. The regal splendor of these events is definitely in line with the loftiness and grandeur of the Court of Haile Selassie First, Emperor. Two special annual occasions are: the Anniversary of the Fifth of May which marks His Imperial Majesty's triumphant entry into his Capital in 1941, and the Anniversary of Their Majesties' Coronation on the 2nd of November. Special regal banquets are held to suit the need, and particularly to entertain honored and distinguished guests of the Imperial Family. Needless to say that these affairs are all invitational, and neither money nor care are stinted to make them worthy of time and circumstance. Their Imperial Majesties and the members of the Imperial Family are the foremost hosts, and from this the social pattern takes its lead. Imperial functions are geared to protocol and fashion. His Majesty's Aide-de-camp and Private Secretary's

Offices bear direct responsibility to see that all requirements are meticulously met.

Their Imperial Majesties's guests at these functions usually comprise Princes, Notables, Dignitaries, Ministers, high ranking Government and Military officials and distinguished residents of the City. It must be stated that on these two national Red Letter Days, luncheons are arranged for people of lesser rank with Their Imperial Majesties as hosts. Lavish bounties are also given to the poor, the Sovereigns visiting the sick, especially in the paupers' hospital, and in many ways, imperial beneficence is showered on the people. At Christmas, as hosts to the school children of the 30 schools in Addis Ababa, Christmas gifts and a special banquet for students and teachers form part of the social activity of Their Imperial Majesties at the Imperial Palace.

As if taking their cue from the imperial arrangements, almost all social functions in Addis Ababa are invitational. Printers make a sizable haul from this type of work, because, it matters not how high or how lowly, to make all conform to the dominant social custom, invitations are usually sent out. In all social functions, mostly buffet, the fare is always lavish. The Ethiopian epicurean traditions dictate that a large variety of dishes must be prepared and served—the customary dish of *watt* coming in as many sorts. As if to cater to every taste, western dishes are also prepared in variety. As mentioned before, the glass of a guest can never be empty or half full, and there are always ready and at hand enough servers to assist the host to see that it does not lack in contents.

For public entertainment outside of the cinemas, the Ras Hotel and the Hotel d'Itegue hold weekly dinner and dance sessions at which those who partake of this kind of amusement may find an affable cosmopolitan crowd. Recently the Hotel d'Itegue has been running a series of commemorative dances, such as Montmartre, Floralia and others, in which realistic decorations transform the hall into an atmosphere reminiscent of the themes. Ethiopians love western dances, and today, the younger set are indulging more and more in this pastime.

The cultural side is fed by periodic lectures in the National Library when speakers of note and ability are presented to the public free of charge in the discussion of important and live topics. The Municipal Hall has been thrown open to the public for conferences

and discussions, and the Municipal Dramatic Troupe stages from time to time dramas and other plays for the benefit of the public. Of significant interest are the international festive dances held annually by the Municipality, at which nationals of the various foreign communities resident in the Capital, dressed in their native costumes, portray their dances for the enjoyment of an over-flowing, eager and interested audience. Original plays written by Ethiopian playwrights have been staged from time to time, in the Municipal Hall, in Cinema Ethiopia and in school auditoriums. Among those who have acted should be mentioned the players of the Itegue Menan Girls' School, the Princess Zenebe Work School, the American Institute Dramatic Society, The British Institute, the Greek School and the Armenian and Indian Community Schools.

Because of the enchantment of the Ethiopian countryside, it has become a habit with the residents of Addis Ababa, especially those with cars, to go to the country or suburbs of the city on weekends for outdoor recreation. Cycling, both by motor and self-power, is also a favorite pastime with the youth of the town. In many cases, buses are chartered to take children and young people on their picnic jaunts to the country.

Transport within the City of the New Flower is something of interest. Some people can be found still riding their mules; others, using the most reasonable and ready method, ride the Gharries. This is a horse-driven two-wheel coach, directed by a driver, ridden by the masses of people in the city. These men approximate the taxi drivers in the large cities of the world in their dexterity in driving these coaches. Sometimes they cut short automobiles in getting to their clients, and it is not looked upon with pleasure by the court if the car should hit one of them. Then there are the buses of the Department of Transportation, some of them very modern, which may be ridden from and to most important parts of the town and on routes to terminals outside. Taxi service is provided by passenger automobiles used for ferrying clients. They have no meters and the tariff is calculated by distance to points within the Capital. The tariff is a schedule approved by the Municipality, and the drivers are expected to conform with the prices therein contained. There are many automobiles in the city of all known manufacture, the wealthier classes preferring to use American cars. The only bane to automotive passenger traffic is the cost of gasoline,

called 'benzine,' which costs as high as 20 United States cents for a liter, approximately one-fifth of a gallon.

The religious life of Addis Ababa centers around the Ethiopian Church. Here mention must be made of the Trinity Cathedral, built by Haile Selassie First, which is a masterpiece of church architecture with many of its pillars and interior arches built of solid white marble imported from Egypt and Greece. The many angels which decorate this church and the windows are really things of rare artistic finish. There are an Ethiopian Evangelical Church, two Roman Catholic Churches, an Anglican Church, a Greek Church, an Armenian Church, several missionary meeting houses and last, but by no means least, a large Mosque in this cosmopolitan religious center. The cemeteries are divided, to a great extent, on these religious denominations and lie on the outskirts of the town.

Being the hub and the center of the activities of the whole country, the diplomatic and many of the consular missions are located there. The business houses have their headquarters in Addis Ababa with branches in the interior of the country. Most of the industries are also found there with the exception of the cement factory which is located in Dire Dawa. The radio stations, presses, newspapers and other modern requirements find their fountain head in this Capital City.

For organizations working among the youth of the Ethiopian Capital, there are the National Boy Scout Association, the Ethiopian Womens' Welfare Work Association, the revived Ethiopian Red Cross and more recently, the Y.M.C.A. of which I shall write a few lines.

In 1947, Mr. Naguib Kelada, General Secretary of the Y.M.C.A. in Egypt, and Dr. James Quay, Senior Secretary in Egypt of the International Committee of the Y.M.C.A.'s of Canada and the United States, visited Addis Ababa on behalf of the National Council of Egypt and the World's Committee to study the possibility of establishing Y.M.C.A. work there. Since then a Y.M.C.A. Secretary has been appointed who is carrying on the work.

These men were warmly received by His Imperial Majesty who at once showed keen interest in the development and the establishment of the Y.M.C.A. in Ethiopia. Subsequently, not only did His Majesty the Emperor sustain his interest on a moral plane, but he has graciously granted to the new branch of this world organization a site opposite the

Ministry of Education building which is large enough and ideally suited for the construction of the Ethiopian Y.M.C.A. headquarters. This is not all. His Imperial Majesty, himself once a member of this organization of international fellowship, has given and further pledged sustained financial aid to this civic and social enterprise. The activities of the Association are progressing and the Headquarters is soon to be constructed.

The foregoing brief sketch of the City of the New Flower has been essayed to give a bird's eye view of what takes place there and to some extent to say what are some of the factors which make the city important in the life of Ethiopia. It should be clear, however, that any detailed description of Addis Ababa and its activities must necessitate more than this short chapter. This brief sketch will have served its purpose if it has stimulated others to think in terms of following from this point onwards to find out what lies behind the curtain of lack of authentic information about what is taking place in this ancient but young African nation in the Horn of the continent.

CHAPTER TWENTY

Ethiopia's Red Letter Days

All nations have erected shrines and have set apart days to commemorate events in their history worthy of regard and observance. Apart from Great Days of the Ethiopian Church, in Ethiopia today six such holidays are observed with varying degrees of emotion, remembrance and enthusiasm.

The accumulative force of history in the life of the community, the state or the nation serves both to give new impulse to present and future human endeavors and to call attention to the cause and effect of important events in the course of this history. Sometimes these events act as a measure of the capacity and capabilities of the people. Sometimes they serve to accentuate the need for vigilance. Sometimes they provide a challenge to the ingenuity of the generation to fight actively and progressively to preserve the heritage secured by the exacting experience of the past.

Such, among the many important landmarks in the long history of Ethiopia are: July 23rd, 1891, the Birthday of Haile Selassie First; March 1st, 1896, the Battle of Adowa; November 2nd, 1930, the Coronation of Their Imperial Majesties, Haile Selassie First and Empress Itegue Menan; February 19th, 1937, the Graziani Massacre; January 20th, 1941, the Raising of the Ethiopian Flag at Omedia; and May 5th, 1941, the Triumphant Entry of Haile Selassie First at the Restoration. I shall devote this chapter to slides on the commemoration of these Red Letter Days in the life of Ethiopia of the Twentieth Century.

Every 23rd of July in Ethiopia the day breaks with the zooming of twenty-one guns, the people of the nation—all—in the twelve provinces and away from the sound of the artillery, breathe a prayer, conscious of the fact that it is a great day in the annals of their history. More than

this, that on that day sixty years ago, an event took place in Jarso in the Province of Harar which has had incalculable effect on their very lives and would have on the life of generations yet unborn. They feel the influence vividly, because they had come to know that on that day Ethiopia received a blessing. Haile Selassie was born.

But a Monarch is entitled to the allegiance and acclaim of his subjects, one might say; therefore, what makes it so unusual? The 23rd of July is a Great Day for more reasons than that. Haile Selassie merits and has in every way merited the popular enthusiasm, the loyalty and devotion of his people. The influence of his work and his leadership is felt in every corner of the nation, among all classes of the population, be it the high or the lowly, the rich or the poor, the lettered or the unlettered, the old or the young. Indeed, its rays have reached through the world kindling human understanding.

It is with bountiful pride and a feeling of great satisfaction that the Ethiopian people on the anniversary of that day, one of the significant landmarks in the history of the nation, join together in spontaneous chorus in saying, "Long Live His Imperial Majesty." And this is not a mere gesture, a phrase conventional in dealing with Monarchs! It is sincere and meaningful, for it rises from the hearts of men, women and children whose affection and loyalty spring from a clear recognition of an abiding fact in their daily life and living.

And what are some of the things which have endeared His Majesty the Emperor to Ethiopians and the world and which makes the 23rd of July important? What makes Haile Selassie worthy of this spontaneous ovation and gives his birthday a fixed place in history? What are the compelling circumstances and the personal traits which have made him essentially an outstanding leader. To explain partially the reasons, which would be the province of historians to complete, I shall venture a brief review of a few of them.

The vicissitudes through which Ethiopia has passed in modern times are well-known and dealt with to some extent elsewhere. Because of geography and the diplomatic pattern for the continent of Africa, especially punctuated by the scramble for undeveloped areas, modern Ethiopia inherited certain antecedent problems which called for unusual statesmanship. The backlog of ancient customs, in so far as they hampered modern state development, necessitated a leader with equally as much vision, as courage, to overcome. Opposition, common

to all change and progress, had to be surmounted and adherents to the ancient vogue had to be convinced of the prevailing value of the new social and political experience. This, a far too brief sketch of the situation that faced His Majesty the Emperor (then Ras Tafari) when he was called upon to assume the leadership of the State some thirty years ago.

From that time to this, he has become the symbol around which modern day Ethiopia has evolved. During his régime the country has passed through the severest distress that can ever come to a nation. But, unwavering in his purposes, true to his conviction, determined in his resolve, His Majesty has pressed and is continuously pressing forward to the goal of modernization. Today the warm emotional attachment and loyalty of the masses to this man are ample confessions of the fact that July 23rd, 1892, marks a blessed day in the history of Ethiopia. They also show that the plan of salvation and his many reforms have struck a harmonious chord, so that even those who doubted at the outset have made common cause and today are staunch supporters of the strivings of New Ethiopia.

To the outside world, Haile Selassie is considered, and that justly, as an enterprising Monarch, working for the general welfare of his people. It is also recognized that he has worked and is still working to increase human and international understanding, and stands always ready to cooperate in the securing of world peace.

From 1923, when, through the direct instrumentality of Haile Selassie, Ethiopia became a member of the League of Nations, to today, his policy has been the strengthening of friendly relations among the nations of the world. Collective security, which failed him and his defenceless people in 1936, has not been abandoned; in fact, no other head of a state has evidenced greater faith in this principle. He believed in it then, in the hour of his country's deep distress; and he believes in it now, as may be seen from this statement:

"We can appreciate that true idealism may have lain behind these policies, now indeed regretted by the world and now admitted as disastrous of 'peace at any price' and 'appeasement.' Nevertheless, we pray that unity and that the strength behind the unity, which failed before, will never lack again among the Councils of the world."

Today as the world seeks avidly for peace and security, the adroit policy of His Majesty stands as a challenge to all. He has created

many precedents and has pronounced many prophecies which have come true. The only Monarch who appeared in person before a world conclave to plead the cause of all nations in upholding the cause of human security, he, despite the ineffective action which ensued, must have brought to the conscience of the world the impact of the inviolability of the human person and the responsibility of those in whose hands lay the political destiny of their various peoples. In proclaiming the Ethiopian Constitution, he upset the theories of government which have been taught in the centers of learning. He showed that he recognized the important role and tremendous responsibility of those entrusted with that far-reaching charge.

Providential indeed is the reign of this Monarch. Never before in the history of the world has a Sovereign returned from voluntary exile to his throne under the same circumstances. It was he who foretold the fact that Europe's map would be torn up by the same immorality which he had appeared before the League of Nations to check, and it came to pass. It is he who has saved the Ethiopian people from being the slaves of foreign rule in refusing to place his personal comfort and safety before the interests of his people.

Historians, in writing the story of Twentieth Century world politics, must pause to record the wreckage of two world wars brought about from the absence of an active principle of collective action about which Haile Selassie warned the world in 1936. They will do justice to the theory that national security does not depend so much on the power of arms as it does on the power of truth, human understanding, a regard for law and the sanctity of treaties. His appeal before the League of Nations in 1936, is a significant sign post in the course of world history. To quote an excerpt:

"I decided to come myself to bear witness against the crime perpetrated against my people and give Europe a warning of the doom that awaits it if it should bow before the accomplished fact. . . .

"Should it happen that a strong Government finds it may, with impunity, destroy a weak people, then the hour strikes for that weak people to appeal to the League of Nations to give its judgment in all freedom. God and history will remember your judgment. . . ."

On the occasion of the unveiling of the Monument of Abuna Petros who was killed by the enemy because he refused to betray his country, His Imperial Majesty recalled:

"It is a sad commentary on the state of the world of that period which tolerated the brutalities and the campaigns of unspeakable atrocities in Ethiopia. We ask, had the world refused to tolerate those immoralities, if it had reacted with energy against those violations of international law, might we not have been spared the countless deaths and sacrifices of the last ten years?

"As one of the United Nations we agree to the principle of working in peace with our former enemies. However, that collaboration must be based on good faith and mutual confidence. Ethiopia has demonstrated and will continue to demonstrate her good faith in spite of bitter deceptions from those who have abused it.

"We will now turn to the period of peace at which we have, by the Grace of God, at last arrived. It is necessary that the Governments of the United Nations who are now working for the reconstruction of World Peace should be guided by the principles of impartiality so that they shall lay down a solid and proper foundation stone for a system of peace which shall outlive generations.

"If the condition of peace is such as will satisfy the conscience and sense of justice of men, if it is assured to human kind that they shall toil and live happily under a just system in which no discrimination will be made between small and great, then the peace system that shall be laid down can leave a heritage for the coming generation which will be full of happy life and boundless prosperity."

To speak of modern Ethiopia is to speak of progress made under the guardianship of Haile Selassie. If Menelik II is called the unifier of his country, the man whose birthday is celebrated on the 23rd of July in each year, must be called the builder. Sensing the responsibilities of nations in this progressive age, from the moment that he was called to duty, he has planned and is still planning to make Ethiopia a worthy participant in the world life. In quintessence, Haile Selassie has constructed the bridge over which his country is steadily marching from the old to the new. Forthright and resolute in his plan, every moment of his life is spent in filling out the details so that his dream may become a full reality. Haile Selassie's Birthday will ever live in the history of his country as a Red Letter Day.

We Americans have our Trenton, New Jersey, and Gettysburg, Pennsylvania; the British, their Trafalgar; and the Russians, their Poltava and their Stalingrad. The Ethiopians have their Adowa. When

the Battle of Adowa is spoken of by an Ethiopian, it recalls the whole episode of Italo-Ethiopian relations. That historic battle won by the Ethiopians on March First, 1896, marks a high spot in the captivating drama of modern Ethiopia's struggle for freedom from invasion and conquest. For this reason, March 1st remains one of the national Great Days of the country of Taitu.

Fifty-six years ago on this day, Emperor Menelik II turned back the invader on the battlefield. It was the plan of the Italians to use Eritrea as the gateway to the conquest of Ethiopia by arms, this battle post-dating the carving out of the coastline of the country in their settlement in "Medra Bhar" which they called Eritrea. Since diplomatic schemes failed, Rome became eager to settle the matter on a military basis. Thus, orders were sent to General Baratieri by the Italian Prime Minister Count Crispi for more energetic measures. These measures meant all-out war. Emperor Menelik, however, had sworn before that: *"The enemy is advancing and laying waste our land. By the help of the Trinity I have decided to defend our Fatherland and to repulse by arms this invader who cannot be brought to reason. Let him that is strong follow me; and let him who is weak pray for us and for success to our arms."*

In carrying out the orders of his Government, General Baratieri forthwith started to put into effect more "energetic measures." He first resorted to a ruse. Knowing that March 1st is the Feast Day of St. George, the Patron Saint of Ethiopia, and therefore one of the greatest religious holidays, and that Menelik's soldiers would be disbanded and observing the day in the churches, Baratieri massed his forces the night before on the right and left of the nearby cliffs of Raio and occupied the strategical passes of Rabbi Arienni and Erara.

The Ethiopians were expecting the danger and their armies were deployed in preparation to defend their homeland in strict conformity with the command of Menelik II. The soldiers of King Teklahaimanot of Gojjam were moving down on the Italians from the right wing of the battle line; Ras Mikael's fierce cavalry were in the center; and on the left, Rases Mangasha and Aloula were poised for the enemy; on the heights above stood Ras Makonnen's keen-eyed marksmen. Emperor Menelik and Empress Taitu had pitched camp not far distant from the ruins of an old Portuguese monastery, while Ras Makonnen, Commander-in-Chief of all Ethiopian forces, tarried within the City of Adowa.

The sudden roar of Italian artillery on the morning of March 1st aroused Menelik and his men from mass and in the churches, and the famous battle began. The result was that 6,000 of Gerenal Baratieri's men were killed, 4,000 were taken prisoners, 11,000 Italian rifles and all of the General's artillery, supplies and transport, as well as all the ordnance and food which had been cached at nearby Enticcio, fell into Ethiopian hands. What is more, Italian General Albertoni had proved himself so helpless before Ras Makonnen's and Menelik's skill that he and his forces had become encircled a few hours after the battle began. Making the final rush against him, Empress Taitu in person led her men against him and General Albertoni had to surrender to a woman!

Ethiopians feel a great deal of pride about this event in their history. They feel that that battle was fought to win and preserve their national security. Since the restoration in 1941, on every anniversary of the great Battle of Adowa, Ethiopians think deeply on the misfortunes which caught them in the invasion and occupation which Adowa was fought to prevent. They recall that on both occasions they were forced to do battle in national defense and weigh the causes of their defeat in the battlefield in 1935 and 1936. The Battle of Adowa kindles their imagination, acts as a reminder of what their forefathers had to face, and how they faced it valiantly, and gives them heart in being ready to face all situations born of their spiritual and material strivings. These are some of the reasons why March 1st remains a Red Letter Day in Ethiopia's national life.

On November 2nd, 1930, a transcendent event took place in Ethiopia–Haile Selassie First and Empress Itegue Menan were crowned. That ceremony was marked with extraordinary pomp and ceremonial in the presence of all the Dignitaries of the Empire and Envoys and special representatives of twelve nations of the world: England, Sweden and Italy by Royal Princes, France by one of the famous heroes of the World War I–Marshall Franchet D'Esperey–the United States, Japan and Poland, by special Ambassadors. By that act supreme authority was invested in His Majesty the Emperor who even before this had commenced his policy of modernization of the country. To appraise the importance of this Great Day in the life of Ethiopia is to focus attention on the whole panorama of current Ethiopian history; the significance lies not so much in the event itself, but in the series of happenings which has followed in the active life of the nation with Emperor Haile Selassie First as its head.

As editor of the *Ethiopian Herald*, I had occasion to publish an article written for that paper by His Eminence Archbishop Nicolas, Metropole of Aksum, Representative of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in Alexandria, as a Coronation Anniversary tribute, which I quote here, as it summarizes well why this Great Day has become fixed in Ethiopia's life. The article reads:

"Every nation or individual has in its life a day intimately woven with its history. This day constitutes a turning in the march and a beginning of a new period. Such a day could be suggestive of joy and gladness, if it recalls any happy and blissful event; on the contrary, it could be subject to mourning, as remembering some grievous and conflicting event!

"Among many such days, modern Ethiopia records the Second of November, 1930, as a joyful and celebrated day. It is the day when the God of Mercy entrusted to the Emperor Haile Selassie First, the direct descendant of Menelik I, the responsibilities for the destiny of Ethiopia. It is the day when the Almighty in His protection of Ethiopia, raised his chosen from among His people, as it is said in the Psalms, and found His David, and with holy oil anointed the son of Makonnen, the hero of Adowa! It is the day when Haile Selassie First, Elect of God, King of Kings, seized in his strong arms the Sceptre of Solomon and was crowned and enthroned as Emperor to govern Ethiopia and lead her people ahead towards his high ideals!

"The ascension of Haile Selassie First on the 2nd of November, 1930, may deservingly be considered as the starting point of a new era in the history of Ethiopia and in the life of the Ethiopian people. Therefore the anniversary of the 2nd of November, 1930, is not only a subject of joy and gladness, but it is also at the same time, a subject of gratitude to the Almighty who secured to Ethiopia during the eventful days of her history, a leader who sat serenely at the helm and led his country through the storms and reefs ahead to a happy and safe harbor.

"Since medieval times when happenings in the Middle East turned the course of history away for most of the Mediterranean people, Ethiopia had been isolated. This isolation lasted for many centuries. Meanwhile Ethiopia kept wholly intact and unblemished her faith and her freedom. From far she looked from the summits of her highlands to places abroad. But modern Ethiopia was not to remain in

this disadvantageous isolation; she later came in touch with foreign nations and peoples. This touch brought new aspects and new phases to Ethiopian life and history.

"During the modern period, Ethiopia has enjoyed many sympathies and friendships as well as facing coveteousness and perfidies. But she has been privileged in having at her head sovereigns holding high the Ethiopian flag.

"Emperors Theodore, Johannes and Menelik II have done honor to their country. Theodore and Johannes were the reformers and Menelik the unifier of their realm. But the title of Saviour and Redeemer has been reserved to the Emperor who, since November 2nd, 1930, has been entrusted with the destiny of Ethiopia.

"The tasks accomplished by Haile Selassie First are wonderful. He has yet many things to achieve. Since his ascendency his work has been appreciated and praised by all the friends of Ethiopia and by all who understand the gravity of his tasks.

"Since 1917 when Emperor Haile Selassie came on the Ethiopian political scene, his activities have been a chain of constant and heroic endeavors for the betterment of the State, the integrity of Ethiopia and the furtherance and welfare of the Ethiopian people. During this period of thirty years, the life of His Imperial Majesty, as Crown Prince, as Regent, as Negus and as Emperor has been in all its aspects intimately bound with the interests of the Ethiopian people. *Scarcely does history show an Emperor's life so intimately bound up or identified with the history of his people.*

"The excellent talents and abilities of His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie First are endowments aptly suited to the circumstances than for normal times. With such gifts he has the mission and responsibility to create a new era in the history of his country. And this is exactly what he has been doing since he was called upon to lead his people.

"At the death of Menelik II, Ethiopia had not attained thorough calm and tranquility. Her life has since been oftimes disturbed. The internal affairs of Ethiopia were in continual ebullition and the political currents were striking against each other. Obvious or latent, the liberal and progressivist tendencies were to be put in collision with the conservative and anachonistic spirit bequeathed by the many centuries of isolation.

"Through keenness of mind and perspicacity, the son of Makonnen

has laid out the road the Ethiopian people must run, and as representing the new ideals of the country, he marshalled all the moral and spiritual forces and mobilized them for the prosperity of his people and honor of his country.

"The task was not an easy one. The exceptional conditions of the country made it extremely difficult. When he was Crown Prince and Regent, every one of his efforts was met with persistent reaction. As the waves of the sea against rocks, by his unrelenting resolution His Majesty the Emperor (then Ras Tafari) smashed the billows of difficulties.

"On the 2nd of November, 1930, he was raised to occupy the Throne of the Lion of Judah. Since his ascension the Imperial endeavors for the furtherance of the welfare of the Ethiopian people, the improvement of the Administration, and especially efforts for the maintenance of the integrity of Ethiopian territory have been greatly intensified. His reforms were many and included all sides of the political, social, financial and religious life of Ethiopia. The 'new wine wants new wineskins'! The thoughts of His Majesty the Emperor were all concentrated, as in a focus, for the creation of a new staff for the execution of his reforms. Ethiopian students went everywhere: to the Middle East, to Europe and to America.

"And when the Reformer Emperor had just begun to reap the fruits of his crop, a national hurricane broke out—the Italian aggression. Ethiopia has never seen more tragic nor darker days; not in Gragn's aggression, nor in the Portuguese penetration. The megalomania of the successor of Machiavelli had for a moment triumphed. Freedom seemed to have fled from its nest in the Ethiopian Highlands; the independence of the Ethiopian people, in the eyes of the world, appeared buried forever in the tomb of history.

"But the sovereign, the anniversary of whose coronation we now celebrate, had a deep faith in the Almighty and unshaken confidence in the indomitable spirit of his people—a people whose history is epitomized with two words: FREEDOM! INDEPENDENCE!

"Ethiopia was thus somewhat tossed about; but with Emperor Haile Selassie at her head, she could never sink: *'Mergitur nec submergitur.'*

"Because of His Majesty the Emperor's resolution and diplomatic efforts, because of the heroic resistance of the Patriots, sustained by Great Britain, Ethiopia recovered her freedom and her independence;

Ethiopia found her soul and took up again her former pursuits with her Emperor at the helm.

"Post-war Ethiopia recognized her 'Saviour and Redeemer.' Rising up from a hated tyranny, Ethiopia looks to him with hopeful eyes; she has to reconstruct her essential services, to awake and coordinate her forces and to follow the United Nations on the path to progress and prosperity. His Majesty the Emperor is making gigantic efforts in achieving these ends. The Church, the State, the people are looking towards him; they see in his person the enthusiastic, inspiring and realistic sustainer.

"If Ethiopia pays tribute to her great kings, and has paid to the Reformers Theodore and Johannes her love, to Menelik II the Unifier her admiration, she owes tribute forever to Emperor Haile Selassie, her Saviour and Redeemer. The present generation and those yet unborn must and will thank him; their gratitude for his endeavors must endure for centuries. The deliverance and the resurrection of Ethiopia are already realized; the reconstruction of modern Ethiopia is yet to be realized; the efforts of His Imperial Majesty in these accomplishments are persistent and sustained; the task is very hard, but is not beyond the strength and ability of the Emperor. To call him 'The Great Emperor' does not signify what Haile Selassie First has already achieved for his country. It is worthy therefore in his lifetime to recognize him as the 'Saviour and Redeemer Emperor.'

"Reservedly on the anniversary of his coronation, the thoughts and hearts of Ethiopians and friends of Ethiopia are all turned to Emperor Haile Selassie First, are all praying for him, are all imploring the blessing of the Almighty upon him for a long and prosperous reign!"

The anniversary of the coronation has gathered added constitutional meaning through these years. On that day His Imperial Majesty, as Head of State, officially opens the Legislature, addressing the joint Houses of Parliament in a "state of the Empire" report in which both the internal and external progress and future plan of the Government are told to the people's representatives and the world. There is usually an Imperial Reception at the old Palace when the Doyen of the Diplomatic Family residing in Addis Ababa tenders felicitations to Their Imperial Majesties, with His Majesty the Emperor responding fittingly. It will serve to fix in mind the type of report that His Majesty the

Emperor delivers in person to the Imperial Ethiopian Parliament by the following Throne Speech delivered on November 2nd, 1948, on the Eighteenth Anniversary of the Coronation:

"We celebrate today the Seventeenth Anniversary of the opening of our Parliament. We never fail to take the opportunity at the opening of Parliament to define Ethiopia's domestic and foreign policy in the light of the continuing position which Ethiopia has to maintain. Nor have we failed to bring before you what we have accomplished to secure Ethiopia's prosperity and the well-being of our people; and also we have pointed out what the Parliament has contributed and where your efforts have been needed.

"When we consider the time which is necessary to fulfil the needs of an individual, it will be easily understood that the accomplishment of the needs of a vast country like Ethiopia can only be fulfilled progressively and by stages. For the life of the world is such that periods of constructive achievements are followed by periods of destruction; the period of construction brings peace and the period of destruction brings uncertainty. Apparently the world cannot escape the alternation of these two contrasting elements of peace and uncertainty.

"Following the Second Great World War in which Ethiopia was first victim, the world soon achieved the peace for which it was thirsting and hastened to undertake the reconstruction of the peace. We are pleased to see that Ethiopia has recovered from the moral confusion, the uncertainty and disorganization thrust upon her by the enemy's invasion and today again enjoys the normal activities of a nation's life. Furthermore, we are pleased to see the encouragingly good results of our efforts to achieve reconstruction and to see that Ethiopia has been able to move forward to her present stage. The support of our program by Parliament, representing our people, as well as the direct support of our people themselves, clearly illustrates a comprehensive and forward looking spirit of action, and is an assurance of even closer cooperation in the future. Loyalty inspires understanding and understanding cooperation; these are the clearest evidences of strength. But the solid basis of all lies in education. It is education which allows people to live together, makes them avoid the pitfalls of immorality, and induces respect for the law. Truly the attainment of these high aims is based on education—the helping of people to live together, to avoid indul-

gence, immorality and lawlessness. Last year, we spoke of our determination to spread education throughout Ethiopia. The progress made in this respect as well as the level reached during the past year, warrant great hope and make us confident that the present and future generations of Ethiopia will move forward to the goal of full prosperity within the sound policy which we have laid down for them.

"Our people, jealous as they are of their independence and of their enjoyment of the natural resources of Ethiopia in agriculture and animal husbandry, have nevertheless taken full advantage of the benefits of fixed taxation and the administrative reforms we have made by law. They have not only been able to benefit themselves and the Government, but also to place on the world's market their surplus food supplies to help relieve the distress of war displaced persons. It is with great pleasure that we note, as a result of these administrative reforms, how the energetic industry of our people has been released in work and education which gives fulfilment to their peaceful and normal duties.

"We have prepared plans for the creation of new industries and for the study of the possibilities of the extension of the present textile and other existing factories, to enable our people further to enjoy the fruits of their labor in the development of the country's resources and to raise their standard of living to the level of modern life.

"We have always kept in mind that the union of the spiritual strength of the people with the material power of the independent nation provides the firm basis for our people to overcome the hardships and difficulties of life facing them in this world. If put into practice, the truth of the saying 'Mens sana in corpore sano' yields inestimable benefits.

"After many years of negotiation to compose the differences between the Ethiopian Church and The Church of Alexandria, we are happy to say that an agreement has been reached concerning the consecration of Ethiopian Archbishops and Bishops, and which gives the Ethiopian Archbishop the right to consecrate Ethiopian Bishops, thus securing an autonomous religious administration.

"Even as we devote our efforts to the improvements of the public life of our people, we are confident that their Beatitudes the Holy Fathers of the Church will dedicate themselves to the moral education of the people. In this we will not fail to extend our assistance.

"Among our normal duties for the improvement of our people's well-

being one of the foremost problems to which we devote much of our time and effort is the further development and improvement of Ethiopian foreign relations—financial, economic and political. Ethiopia is indeed no longer isolated from the rest of the world; for not only have friendly relations been established between Ethiopia and the foreign powers who have already opened Legations in Addis Ababa, but the size of the Diplomatic Corps has been increased during the past year by the accreditation to us of Ministers from the Governments of Czechoslovakia, Poland and Norway. And further, we have to announce that diplomatic relations are to be established with Portugal and India. It is our constant wish that the friendly relations which so happily exist between Ethiopia and her neighbors should continue to be most cordially maintained.

"The British troops who have been stationed in our province of the Ogaden which, as a contribution towards the effective prosecution of the World War, was placed at the disposal of the British Government who as our friend and ally helped us to drive out the invader from our country, have continued their withdrawal from the province.

"In accordance with an agreed procedure of progressively handing back the various posts, we have taken over the greater part of the Ogaden and the whole Somali section of the Bali Province. The Governors appointed by us have assumed the civil administration. The demarcation of the boundary between Ethiopia and French Somaliland having now been concluded, it is expected that the erection of land marks along the frontier will be completed within this year by the Joint Boundary Commission. An agreement has been reached with the British Government for the demarcation during 1950, of the Southern boundaries of Ethiopia, and discussions have been entered into concerning the western boundaries.

"On the other hand, as we have told you on several occasions, Ethiopia has not yet obtained her rightful boundaries, since the question of Eritrea and ex-Italian Somaliland, the object of our constant efforts, has not been settled.

"In this connection we refer to our rightful claim for the union with the Motherland of the people of these two provinces which are ethnically and historically one with Ethiopia, and to the decision made by the Four Great Powers who sent out a Commission of Enquiry to ascertain the opinions of the inhabitants of Eritrea and ex-Italian Somali-

land. In our speech delivered on the occasion of the opening of Parliament last year, we pointed out that the struggle for their future had devolved upon the populations of these provinces.

"We are informed that the question of Eritrea and ex-Italian Somaliland has been placed on the Agenda of the United Nations Assembly which is now sitting in Paris. The declarations made during the deliberations of the Council of Foreign Ministers prior to the placing of the question on the Agenda of the Unitd Nations Assembly have disclosed the fact that unanimous agreement was not reached in the matter. Accordingly, we have sent definite and clear instructions to our delegates who are attending the United Nations Assembly in Paris to plead our claim in respect of the two provinces. The decision of the United Nations is awaited anxiously. But, in the very moment when We are perfecting the measures which we will have to take when the decision of the United Nations has been conveyed to us, we understand that Italy has presumed to renew her request to administer the so-called Italian colonies of Eritrea and Somalia.

"In this connection, we wish to repeat quite simply that during her occupation of these two provinces Italy used them several times in a period of less than two generations as bases upon which to accumulate troops for planned aggressions against Ethiopia.

"Consequently, we have renewed our claim to re-union of these provinces to the Motherland of Ethiopia with whom they are ethnically and historically one, before the General Assembly of the United Nations, and we trust the United Nations will reject Italy's claim to be allowed to resume control of the provinces of Eritrea and Somalia and to be Ethiopia's neighbor once again. The United Nations which replaces the League of Nations is undoubtedly aware that Italy trod upon the Covenant of the League of Nations and the restraints of international law, and only yesterday conducted an aggressive war against Ethiopia where she carried on wholesale massacre of our peaceful population. That war did not stop in Ethiopia but was spread throughout the world.

"We further trust that the Governments which have expressed their interest in the protection of the less powerful nations, as well as those nations large and small who have passed through the trial of aggression, will give a fair and sympathetic consideration to the claim of their fellow-member of the United Nations, Ethiopia, and that the decision

will be in our favor; thus would they give proof of their stand for justice. We hope that the question of Eritrea and ex-Italian Somaliland will be promptly settled during the session of the present Assembly.

"To accede to the demands of Italy after the Second Great World War, the horrible memories of which have not yet faded away, would be disastrous. It will condemn every effort which is being made jointly by the Assembly to establish peace for the people of the whole world and to establish a secure foundation for human rights and liberty for every man to enjoy a happy and unmolested life. Ethiopia relies on Almighty God and Natural Justice, for upon these foundations alone can the United Nations be built and sustained for all nations both large and small.

"Three years have passed since the close of the Second Great World War. At the close of the war the world began resolutely to rebuild what had been demolished, to repair what had been damaged, so that in a new world there would be a new peace in which civilization could again follow its normal course of providing for all a source of happiness and prosperity.

"In spite of these efforts the scars left by this great war which has so terribly affected humanity remain, but what is even worse is to contemplate the grave anxiety that even more serious danger is threatening the world.

"At this moment when world peace is darkened by heavier and heavier clouds, it is our prime duty and constant desire that Ethiopia, as a member of the United Nations, shall contribute in so far as in her power to dissipate those clouds.

"It is indeed clear that the duties which fall upon you this year are most onerous and difficult. However, imagination, devotion, perseverance, together with Divine Grace, will assure your success; and they will clear the path for all that you will do in a spirit of comprehension and mutual understanding. You may always rely on our help."

Enthusiasm runs wild on every 2nd of November when, in every nook and crevice of the nation there is official as well as un-official celebration. The Capital puts on its ceremonial dress, the school children line the streets through which the imperial tour passes, with military Guards of Honor and salutes in the air by the Imperial Ethiopian Air Force planes, with public and private socials reaching a crescendo.

In every respect the universal homage of the people is a revealing expression of the spontaneous recognition of the fact that on November Second 1930, an event took place which has turned the entire tide of life of the nation.

February 19th, 1937, has become one of the Red Letter Days in modern Ethiopia through a course which highlights the price of liberty; a course which epitomizes the beneficence of a rule of law by its converse, an absence of this rule of law; a course which shows to what degree of degradation man can sink, when a nation has lost its government, and its people are left prey to the power of the conqueror. This day annually finds the Ethiopian people in a sad mood, in reflection on the immemorial ills by which the Ethiopian people were visited by Marshal Graziani during the period of unstable occupation of the occupiers of the land of Piankeh, Theodore, Johannes, Menelik and Haile Selassie.

This is the day of mourning in the life of that African kingdom. The pall of sadness which envelops the Capital and other centers, the homes and the churches in which special services are held, is vividly felt by the guests of the land. It is the day of wreaths, of commemoration around the monument erected on the very spot of the massacre; a day set aside to honor those heroes who were tortured and otherwise killed in cold blood as a reprisal on the life of Graziani by two patriots who, quivering under the heel of the conqueror, sought to vindicate the right of their fellows to the enjoyment of human, elemental and natural rights.

On February 19th, decreed as the National Day of Mourning, the Ethiopian flag is flown at half-mast, and, as a public holiday all offices and other businesses are closed. The main feature of the day is the laying of wreaths on the Martyrs' Monument, a speech by the Ethiopian Prime Minister and an hour of eulogy in the Selassie Cathedral which is the mausoleum in which the bones of many of the men, women and children massacred are buried. It is a day marked in the Ethiopian calendar both for mourning and reflection. The *Ethiopian Herald* on one of these occasions editorialized:

"Today our thoughts and sentiments turn back to this day, exactly ten years ago, to that fateful day, when thousands of our brethren were done to the death and otherwise ill-used by the enemy. Today this nation mourns at the bier of those who paid with their lives for the

lawlessness of a regime which shall live long in infamy. Today we recall the shame which Italy brought on civilization which men like Cavour, Mazzini and others of her own citizens have done so much to build and foster. Today we call to remembrance the bravery and the courage with which the people of this realm withstood, even with martyrdom, the evil which rested on this land of our forefathers from 1935 to 1941.

"While on the Nineteenth of February, 1937, Graziani, with the engine of death and destruction, killed Ethiopians like animals, he little knew that by so doing he made hallow this ground so deeply mixed with the blood of her sons. He little suspected that in the eventual triumph of justice, he and the power of his government would have been cast down and that the liberty and independence of this country, which he sank to such depths to destroy, would have also triumphed in the end. He little thought that this foul thing would have increased the fervor and steeled the will of the Ethiopian people to unseat this tyranny and rid their fair land of the foreign tyrant.

"We turn now to a brief sketch of Italy's campaign against Ethiopia, covering a period of over half a century. Coveting this territory, all the devices of forceful penetration were used: our friendship was courted and later abused by espionage and adverse propaganda; economic imperialism was applied but failed; our frontiers were forcefully seized and later used as bases of aggression against us; the acquiescence of other European powers was obtained to aid in her designs of conquest. Italy was defeated at Adowa and fell back to these frontiers to prepare for what she thought was the final and last encounter; she defied the world and attacked Ethiopia in 1935; seizing the Capital through the outlawed method of yperite gas she thought that her success in this expansion was accomplished; to her discredit, she found that the spirit of Adowa was still burning; then, in desperation—the Graziani Massacre was the result.

"All these machinations of Italy have constituted a continuous struggle for the Ethiopian Government and people to maintain their freedom and independence. But we never let the flag down. With yeoman strength and fanatic enthusiasm Ethiopia has borne the many trials and vicissitudes with her faith in God high, and her eyes on her destiny fixed. And so, the history of a nation has been wrought on the anvil of devotion and written in the blood of her sons.

"The Graziani massacre ranks among the crimes of the century. It

was provided by the Allied and Associated Powers that those public men who used their political offices to commit inhuman acts and atrocities against mankind should bear the penalty of their crimes. Upon the orders of this man thousands of Ethiopian citizens were shot down in cold blood, without trial or mercy. Guilt or innocence which are the cornerstones of a rule of law were absent—'all Ethiopians should be shot at sight.'

"Very apropos, we read in this week's news report that Albert Kesselring faces a British Military Court in Venice to answer for 'barbarous reprisals' against Italian civilians. The crime of this German Field Marshal is described as follows by the Prosecutor: 'After a bomb explosion in a Roman street had killed 38 members of the German Police, 335 Italians were executed. The Italians, whose ages ranged from fourteen to seventy, were taken to the Ardeatine caves near Rome and shot in the neck with their hands tied behind their backs.'

"It ought to serve a useful purpose to recount here what took place on the 19th of February, 1937. A multitude of Ethiopians were invited to the Palace, where Graziani had summoned them, including the maimed, the halt and the blind, who had been called to receive alms from the hands of this assassin.

"The ceremony consisted mainly in the fascist boast of what progress Italian rule would bring to Ethiopia. During the affair, two bombs were thrown towards the balcony. Naturally, there was a panic, Graziani was slightly wounded, and every Italian who possessed a weapon, and there were many of these, since this was an armed occupation, started to fire on the bewildered masses. In a few minutes there were over 1,000 dead in the Palace grounds alone. This promiscuous killing extended throughout the city backed by orders from Graziani 'to shoot any Ethiopian at sight.' Many weapons were used: hand grenades, explosives and incendiaries, rifles, revolvers and automatics as well as machine guns and daggers. Arson, looting and pillage went unchecked for days in which several thousands of innocent men, women and children lost their lives.

"Would it be too much to ask, Where and when would Graziani be called to answer for this crime against humanity? Or is justice two-faced and afraid to speak because of time, place and circumstance? All that is appropriate here is to say, in the words of our August Sovereign, *'God and history will remember your judgment.'*

"We rejoice in the knowledge that today finds us again under our

own vine and fig tree, that our age-old freedom and independence has been restored; that the loved ones of those who fell in this massacre and the other victims elsewhere, have been able to see the might of fascism and nazism overthrown in their own lands as well as in the world; that these experiences are goading men onward to prevent a recurrence of the beastly orgy which was hurled against the sanctity of innocent men, women and children.

"Our joy is however sodden with tears as we recall the inhuman way in which the fascist terror decimated our population, burnt our hearth and home, looted our religious and sacred places and shrines, rained poison gas on defenceless civilians, hanged our patriots, and with their unimaginable brutalities tried to destroy our spirit and shift our horizon from freedom to serfdom.

"Thus, today is recognized as a national day of mourning. On the Martyrs' Monument, erected in memory of those who were felled by Graziani's orders at Yekatit 12th Square, wreaths were placed today honoring them. Year after year we shudder to recall the incidents which have given rise to the planting of this Monument. And so, for generations shall we remember, with deep emotion, this episode—this shame!"

The last two Great Days, according to my arbitrary count by dates, fall on the 20th of January, known as Omedla, and the 5th of May, Liberation Day, when His Imperial Majesty returned in triumph to his people and his throne. Since the occasion as well as the theme of both of these Anniversaries coincide, I have taken the liberty to give a joint sketch of them.

When His Majesty the Emperor stepped again on Ethiopian soil after his voluntary exile in the United Kingdom, he had come to rally the uninterrupted resistance of his people against the invader for the last stand towards the liberation of his country. In the Valley of Dinder which leads from the common borders of Ethiopia and the Sudan, Haile Selassie First with his own hands unfurled the Ethiopian tricolor, signal of the re-establishment of his rule and authority over precariously occupied Ethiopia. This flag bears the Green, representing the hopes of those who were spared to see the day, and the eternal hope of generations yet unborn; it bears Gold, emblematic of the glory of Ethiopia's past and future progress and achievement; it bears Crimson, justly and proudly significant of the blood of its people, who, from all walks of life, suffered and bled in heroic resistance to an enemy ruthless beyond imagination.

As the Frontier Battalion, Number Four Company, brought the Patriots arms and news of the coming of their Emperor, their hearts were full—they were overjoyed. It inspired their hope, strengthened their courage and steeled their determination to continue the struggle to its victorious end. On that day when His Majesty the Emperor alighted from the plane and planted the flag in the dry bed of the river Dinder, and when the first Imperial Decree was issued under its shadow, an ancient kingdom was restored.

This region around Mount Malaya was, like the spirit of Ethiopia, never conquered by the Italians. Firaurari Taffarra Zelleka held its mountain fortress firmly although the enemy stormed it mercilessly with men and supplies from Achifer and Dongila for five long years. This resistance itself is a fitting monument to Ethiopia's past, present and future; the hoisting of the flag there on January 20th, 1941, makes it an even more fitting shrine. The realization of the hopes and aspirations of an independent Ethiopia, resurrected from the smouldering ashes of suppression and alien domination, where endless generations may walk and breathe the air of manhood, womanhood and freedom freely, is an equally fitting monument which neither stress can demolish nor time efface.

For the Ethiopian people, now and centuries after, Omedla, January 20th, 1941, will always be remembered. Historians in narrating the account of this period of world history, will surely record it; not only as a turning point of destiny for Ethiopia, but of that of the world and Western Civilization. For it marks also, and most significantly, the beginning of the wave of Allied military successes which was climaxed in the final and conclusive defeat of the powers of darkness, begun at Omedla and culminating at Rheims and Tokio.

Thence, the tide of battle turned against the Italians who had planned to join up with the Nazi armies under the 'Desert Fox.' The Allied nations, under the leadership of Great Britain, Ethiopia's friend and then comrade in arms, pressed their advantage, and on the 5th of May, 1941, His Imperial Majesty rode triumphantly into Addis Ababa assuming again the reign of his authority and re-installing the Imperial Ethiopian Government. It was the climax of the restoration for which Omedla is the symbol.

May Fifth is therefore an eternal sign-post in Ethiopian history. On the Sixth Anniversary of that Great Day, the Government press editorialized:

"To think of His Imperial Majesty's triumphant return to Addis Ababa six years ago, is to think of the resurrection, the re-birth of a nation. After the bitter and barren occupation years, it brought the sweetness of liberty and a new life of fruitful endeavors. It was a day of song, a day of joy, after five years of tears, anxiety, pain and sorrow. It was a significant moment of reunion after a trying interval of physical absence. It was the laying down of a new foundation upon which to build the citadel of a newer Ethiopia.

"Today, six years after the restitution, finds us striving to reconstruct the ruins and build an ever statelier structure to meet the exigencies of the times and to honor the name and merit the sacrifices of those who fell in that crisis. With hope undaunted and enthusiasm unfettered, we view the battered rampart of our homeland and proceed further to use our time and efforts to build, build, build! With head erect, facing the sun, gaze fixed on the horizon, the shadows behind us, we journey to translate our dreams into reality.

"Without hesitancy and armed with the experiences of the past, we accept the triumphal march of His Majesty the Emperor as the spearhead of our columns; for since these six years we have all joined in the march to the even greater triumph of building a nation, cast in the mould of the unsullied glory of its ancient traditions, tempered in the profuse blood of its patriots and burnished by the contacts of modern world life. In our manifold tasks we are bound together under one flag, one aim, one destiny.

"Our tasks are stern, the pathway galling to the tread, the goal exacting; but every fifth of May, as we take an inventory of the past, we contemplate the future with renewed inspiration to follow through in our purposes. With new earnest, weighing our steps, we go forward to sustain the deep meaning and the immeasurable implications of our liberation from the enemy, of which May Fifth, 1941 was the crowning climax.

"As we go over the clichés of the last twelve years, the events fall into two memorable parts. 1935 to 1941, were years of grave distress—years which tried the mettle of Ethiopia, her Emperor and people to the utmost. During this time, even some of Ethiopia's friends had despaired of the cause. His Imperial Majesty, who had even prophesied his own return, never faltered in his hope, slackened in his efforts nor abandoned his determination. Supported by the daring defiance to the

enemy of the loyal Patriots at home who were subjected to so many tortures and bore such heavy sacrifices in the uneven struggle, His Majesty the Emperor's re-entry into Addis Ababa dispelled the clouds so that the sun of freedom and independence shone again in all its splendor.

"During this period the gloomy spectre of war, unchecked despite the plea and warning of our August Sovereign, had fallen on more than half of the world. The cries of defenceless Ethiopian civilians which went unheeded became the cries of millions of those who thought that the principles of international collective security were a matter of individual national convenience. Ethiopia became symbolic proof of the indivisibility of collective security, and the memorable words of the historic appeal of Haile Selassie First before the League of Nations Assembly in 1936, were vindicated by the horrible events which ensued.

"Fate, circumstance, sacrifice and steadfast devotion brought us the victory. The triumphant re-entry of our Beloved Emperor which we have every right to celebrate with joy and thanksgiving was dearly bought. As we come to the second part of this period, that of 'rebuilding the Temple,' from May Fifth, 1941 to 1947 and the future, destiny calls us to master circumstances, sacrifice ourselves and be just as steadfast in our devotion to the cause before us—that of building post-war Ethiopia. The fullest meaning of the dramatic moment which we observe on this Sixth Anniversary of His Imperial Majesty's return and Ethiopia's liberation must be found in making Ethiopia a splendid example to other people in Africa and to the human race.

"Since 1941, the Ethiopian Government and people have achieved a great measure of success in the task of reconstruction and rehabilitation. The record is good in the face of circumstances. Through the unrelenting spirit of our Emperor which inspires all alike to press forward, our foot is well on the way to our goal. In the affairs of State, however, the many tasks begun and those yet to be started are not usually matters of quick fruition. Their essential success is not measured in terms of a few years. Generations hereafter will finish many of these tasks. From year to year and for centuries may they find the depth of inspiration and the breadth of vision in the fact that on May Fifth, 1941, the ancient independence of this land which was severely threatened was restored."

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

Ethiopia and the Outside World

In the foregoing pages, I have dealt with aspects of the life, interests and activity of Ethiopia in the subject period—in the first half of this century. It has been my intention from the outset, to set forth, as best I can, the facts as gathered from an objective personal appraisal as well as from what I have had occasion to learn from the people and from my own impression and judgment. I believe most necessary, before concluding this work, to state some views as to what, from my own judgment, I believe are the most vivid and interesting points of contact between the outside world and Ethiopia and *vice versa*.

Since it is true that the richness of world culture springs from its variety, the world outside of the land of Queen Sheba could find much in Ethiopia today with which to work. A better understanding of what makes up that country's psychological bearing, of what makes the Ethiopian what he is, of what can be gleaned and studied from the visible relics of the country's ancient past—all these provide areas of study and interest for peoples outside of Ethiopia. The time has surely come, at least to foster and aid in universal human understanding, that knowledge of the ways of mankind, in whatever geographical spot they have their habitat, should become the common property of all. And this outlook has characterized the strength of all dominant civilizations. While Ethiopia is not a museum piece, the languages, customs, traditions and other historic and sociological elements which abound there, hold more than mere academic interest to the study of the history of civilization. Moreover, for the curious and those with a talent and flair for travel and research, they will find that country of very absorbing interest.

Where the African Kingdom itself is concerned, now in the dawn of a new era in its thousands-of-years existence, the friendly touch of

foreign contacts would act as an embracing and invigorating breath of air. With everyone eager to learn and to delve into the cause and effect of Western culture and influence, visitors bring, in flesh and blood, an understandable reality, evidence of how people in the outside world live, work, play and achieve. In essence, where Ethiopia and the world are concerned, there are adequate reciprocal benefits to be derived by a free exchange of contacts. The past attitude of remoteness to the distant parts of the world, has been removed by the newer forms of transportation and communication, so that the Ethiopian today, even the lowly man in the street, has developed a keen ear and sense as to what is taking place beyond the physical borders of his mountain-fortress land.

The evidence of this has been forcefully brought to mind by the avidity with which people in Ethiopia today train their ears to listen to radio programs and to what extent those who can read make it their business to relay to family, friend and community, what they have learnt from the printed page. Working in the Ethiopian Press and Information Department, I was able to feel the pulse of this modern phenomenon of the people wanting to know what is in and behind the news. On a visit to Gondar in 1950, it was revealing to know that people with domestic radio receiving sets are completely deluged by members of the community to listen to the Amharic news and features carried over the ether from Radio Addis Ababa. In more ways than one, the country of Menelik is bristling with enthusiasm to know what is happening in the outside world. This eagerness is outdone by the pupils in the schools, and by adults prying in every cultural corner to know all that is possible to learn.

Ethiopia is a country still possessed of a rare and original natural beauty. It is a tourist attraction in itself, which will amply repay for any rigors of travel into its vast hinterland. The climate is ideal, the people hospitable, the landscape is cheerful and the countryside of beauteous charm. The rugged mountains with their rivers and lakes, the highlands with their abundance of wild game, fish, birds and flowers; the desert lowlands with their scrub and cactus, afford a variety of scenic interest hardly surpassed elsewhere in the world. The picturesque native life, the numerous old Ethiopian churches, some carved out of solid rocks, are themselves magnetic to those who wish to spend their leisure in pursuits of cultural and out-door interests.

Thus thinking, I feel duty bound to include a line to my com-

patriots about Ethiopian-United States relations, be they diplomatic, cultural or commercial. On the first phase of this contact, my experience has divulged that by the nature of the fact, Ethiopia's foreign policy is tremendously influenced by what role the western democracies are playing in present day world politics. By reason of the position of the United States in the leadership of these nations, both the internal and external policies of the United States find ready sensitiveness in the thinking of the Ethiopian people. Moreover, because of her geographical position, and in view of the facts bequeathed by past history, Western European influence is ever evident in what and how Ethiopians think. And so far as Italy is concerned, the unfriendly moves made by several Italian Governments towards that country have not made the people bitter to Italians, whom they regard as a people of industry and art, and deserving of an equal chance with all other peoples of the world.

The strong bonds that bind Ethiopia to such European countries as the United Kingdom, France and Sweden, and the healthy touch maintained with Canada form part of the overall conception by Ethiopian officialdom of the necessity to live in harmony and in peace with all peoples. The direct orbit of Ethiopia's diplomatic reciprocity lies in the Middle East and in the Orient. Thus, the fraternal links between Egypt and other Middle Eastern countries and the more recent strengthening of mutual service between that country and India, fall naturally in the daily pattern of her external political radiation. To this should be added the role which Ethiopia, since 1923, has played and is still playing in world organization.

As a nation and a recognized independent political entity, the Ethiopian Government and people have the right to be dealt with on the plane recognized by international law and international practice as such. I have been asked, both by my white as well as African descended compatriots, as to what role the Afro-Americans and the Ethiopians can play in the field of mutual cooperation. While this book might not be the best place to answer this question, I could not be so lacking in courage as not to include a brief line as gathered from my experiences in that country. As stated elsewhere, Ethiopia is a place where the question of racism is not considered of too absorbing importance. The opportunities for contact are not proscribed by any law banning persons on the bases of race, color or creed.

Both the man in the street and the Ethiopian official family recog-

nize that among the fifteen millions of Afro-Americans exist a great fount of talent and other potential of unusual intrinsic value. So far as the Imperial Ethiopian Government is concerned, it is fully recognized that the sentiments of a large part of these people are friendly and that, in the hour of Ethiopia's distress, under the leadership of Dr. Malaku Bayene, concrete expressions of sympathy and support were registered. They do not believe, however, that it is convenient, provident, nor wise to undertake a crusade for the return of Afro-Americans to Africa, and to interfere in the domestic affairs of other nations in which these people are living as minorities. It is true, and always has been true, that Afro-Americans who have sought entry into Ethiopia have not been denied such permission, and that those who have had the opportunity to serve in Ethiopia, have been accepted with strong fraternity.

It is as true, as it is important, that adjustments of many sorts are necessary, both from the standpoint of the Governments under which the Africans abroad live and in the minds and attitude of these minorities themselves. In the course of a conversation with a white compatriot, I was told that he did not feel that the Ethiopians were willing to cooperate with the Afro-Americans. My retort was that it was impossible for him to really know this, except he were one himself. Such observations, based on natural inability to ascertain the full facts, have often gone into the thinking of high authority; in fact, they have too often been the basis for high level policy in discouraging a very fruitful field of far-reaching and beneficial contacts for the United States in the outside world, and especially in Africa. From my observation and experience, it would be a matter of extraordinary wisdom for the United States to encourage those Afro-Americans who wish to travel for gainful pursuits into Ethiopia, today capable of absorbing a very substantial number of those trained in American know-how. It is beyond cavil that well selected Afro-Americans in the land of Queen Sheba will assure to them material benefits and spark-plug Ethiopian-United States relations.

So far as the Afro-Americans themselves are concerned, adjustment in thought and approach to their participation in the development of that vast and rich country is *sine qua non*. Only those with a spirit to build should ever attempt to seek entry into Ethiopia. Naturally, there are many Ethiopians not fully gainfully employed, in the sense of the

term as known in America. The task of changing them to become effective producers of the national wealth is the constant care of the Government. People without skills or enough money to begin self-enterprise would further clutter the machinery of rehabilitation and reconstruction. As the country stands today, one of the great needs is finance capital, much of which resides in the hands of the Afro-Americans. With proper planning and direction, some of this capital and the known talents of these people could do a remarkable job for the mutual interest. The Imperial Ethiopian Government has openly indicated its willingness to encourage such efforts. First, these people must understand that they are going into a country with a civilization much older than any that time and circumstances have permitted them to be exposed to. Both mental and social adjustment, therefore, would be for them a prime necessity. They can depend on the vivid conscious fraternity of the people to make adaptation easy. It is most certain that in this virgin country there are broad fields to be conquered by their skill and industry constructively applied.

As to cultural world contacts, as stated elsewhere, in her quest for modernization, Ethiopia has given full proof of her desire to draw heavily from foreign countries. The very cosmopolitan character of the population of Addis Ababa, the Capital, could be taken as evidence to support this observation. The Government and people, led by His Imperial Majesty, often stress the fact that the crux of such cultural touch is to revitalize and embellish Ethiopian culture. The assertion of this national right does not in any way diminish the areas for the blending of other national cultural elements with the proven beneficial strains of Ethiopian. Today, Ethiopian students are studying in several foreign countries; the complexion of the teaching staff of the Ministry of Education is a polyglot affair so far as the nationals of other countries go; foreign Christian missionaries are still permitted to work freely there; foreigners are always treated with hospitality and respect; English, French, Italian, Arabic are read, spoken and understood by a very substantial part of the people, with the English language the second official tongue of the country—all these, tangible expressions of the links of world cultural contacts recognized in Ethiopia.

The country has now been thrown open for tourism. While the financial side is important, today forming a sizable income for many countries, Ethiopia recognizes this factor as one of high cultural value

to her modern outlook. A Government-sponsored tourist association is being formed which will advertise the country's tourist attractions through tourist agencies throughout the world. The fact that Ethiopia is a vacation paradise has until now been little publicized; but there is much of ancient lore, natural beauty and adventure to cater to many foreign visitors. A tourist company, sponsored by local businessmen and Government interests, now operates in the country to ensure that proper attention and consideration are given to guests. There are two first-class hotels in Addis Ababa, one of which is quite new, in addition to several smaller ones. Other hotels and tourist accommodations are situated in the major cities. Present hotel arrangements are adequate to take care of a larger expansion of tourist activity, but new construction is already contemplated to take care of the larger volume ultimately expected. Air and bus services are available from the capital to many points in the interior, and a rapid and dependable air service is regularly scheduled between Addis Ababa and several major Middle East cities.

Those who are interested in antiquities and the early history of the country will naturally gravitate towards Aksum, the ancient capital and still the holy city of Ethiopia. It is close to Adowa (famous for the battle of 1896) and now reached by Ethiopian Air Lines planes. Here, among other remains, are a group of colossal carved monoliths, one of which still stands erect, which date probably from the beginning of the Christian era and which testify to the high degree of culture in those early times. Inscriptions of great historical importance also exist in Aksum. One of the still surviving churches is that of Debra Damo, a monastery so inaccessible on its hill-top location that the visitors must be hauled up the rock-face on a rope. The cathedral of Aksum, in its present form, dates from probably the 17th century.

This early civilization was centered in the province of Tigre—the northern-most province of Ethiopia, and many remains of its monuments are scattered over the adjoining parts of Eritrea. In later times the Ethiopian center of gravity gradually moved southwards, and successive Emperors chose many different sites for their capitals; it was only under Menelik II, towards the end of the 19th century, that the final move was made to Addis Ababa, the southernmost capital of all.

Midway between Addis Ababa and the northern frontier lies the mountainous province of Lasta, accessible only by pack animals. Its capital, Lalibela, is famous for a number of churches cut from the solid

rock which are unique in the world. These churches date from the 13th century, and are certainly the most remarkable monuments remaining from medieval Ethiopia. Rock churches are not confined to Lalibela, for the original group inspired copies in many parts of northern Ethiopia, and one can be seen from the main Asmara road just north of Wikiro. There are also a few further south, and near Addis Ababa, wrongly known to foreigners as the "Portuguese ruin," is a roughly executed and incomplete example.

Of all the old capitals, the most noteworthy is Gondar, now the capital city of the north-western province of Beghemdir. It is easily reached both from Asmara and from Addis by plane. Gondar was a great city in its day and the Imperial residence in the 17th and 18th centuries. It is noted for some impressive castles, churches, both round and oblong, and various other buildings. From Gondar, Lake Tana, only forty miles away, can be visited. This great lake, the source of the Blue Nile, lies in the heart of a region full of interest. On the promontories and islands of the lake are many old churches and monasteries, and the people navigate it from end to end in large canoes made entirely of papyrus reed.

The Blue Nile leaves the lake at its southern extremity near the town of Bahr Dhar Giorgis, and after a comparatively level course of some 20 miles, plunges over the falls of Tchis Isat, which has been described as one of the most beautiful waterfalls in the world. At this point begins the great series of canyons through which the Blue Nile flows for hundreds of miles, and just below the falls is a remarkable old stone bridge which clears the narrow gorge at a single span high above the water. Both this and another bridge further down stream were built, either by Portuguese craftsmen or under their influence, in the 17th century.

In the middle of the last century, Emperor Theodore moved his seat to Debra Tabor and later to the natural fortress of Magdala (not far from the modern town of Dessie) where the English army under Lord Napier found him in 1868. Still further south, on the way to Addis Ababa, the road passes through Debra Birhan, situated on a high, cold, and windy plateau. Though not now an attractive town, it takes its place in Ethiopian history because both Debra Birhan itself and several other sites in the neighborhood have been used as their headquarters by Emperors of Ethiopia.

A day's journey leads to Ankober, the capital of Shoa, until the time when Menelik II, confronted with wider opportunities, moved to Entoto and eventually to Addis Ababa. Ankober stands on top of a steep little hill, on which there were formerly ancient Ethiopian buildings which were destroyed by the Italians in 1937, and of which the ruins can still be seen. The hill juts out from the very top of the great eastern escarpment, and overlooks the Danakil desert some 6,000 feet below—a magnificent outlook. The lakes or floods along the Awash River shine brightly as they catch the early morning sun, and the beautiful cone of Mount Ayelou, in central Danakil, rises from the mist to the east. Southwards, across the plains, can be seen the characteristic hills near Afdam and Mieso on the railway, and further off still, in clear weather, the line of the Chercher hills stretching away towards Harar. Almost as fine a view can be enjoyed from Debra Sina and the road up to the tunnel above.

Harar is easily reached by a fine road that climbs the escarpment from Dire Dawa and by plane. It is an old Arab walled city utterly unlike anything else in Ethiopia which, with its maze of crooked alleys and small, cramped houses, more picturesque than hygienic, recalls some Eastern city. The hills around Harar, and the Chercher range generally, are lovely, if tame, compared with the higher mountain ranges of central Ethiopia.

Lovers of spectacular scenery will find something different in Ethiopia from anything else in Africa, or in Europe. The high plateau, lying at 7,000 to 9,000 feet above sea level, is cut up by enormously deep canyon-like gorges, with deep rivers at their bottoms which were impassable in the rainy season (until modern bridges were built) and formed effective barriers between the provinces. The modern road of Jimma in the south-east, crosses the great Omo gorge and the Blue Nile gorge is crossed by the road to Debra Markos, capital of Gojjam; that of the Takazze by the road from Adowa to Gondar. Fiche, 70 miles north of Addis Ababa, commands a most striking view of some of the terrific tributary gorges of the Blue Nile system, and the famous monastery of Debra Libanos, a few miles away, is situated most picturesquely on a ledge in one of these ravines. On the River Web, in the south-eastern province of Bale, one can see a natural wonder of another kind, for here the river runs for a mile and a half underground, through a complex series of caves.

Sometimes the plateau has been almost entirely cut away, leaving only frost-topped hills with precipitous or perfectly sheer sides. Such *ambas* are characteristic of Ethiopian scenery, especially in the north. Some of the most strangely shaped, more fantastic than the Dolomites, can be seen from the Gondar road to Addi Arkai. From this place, also, the Simen mountains—the highest in Ethiopia, rising to well over 15,000 feet—can be climbed.

Some of Ethiopia's lakes are real beauty spots, and the people who live by their shores, or on the islands, and the curious craft in which they navigate the waters, must surely fascinate the most blasé of travellers. Lake Tana has already been mentioned; but there are two other charming lakes in the north, both small and surrounded by hills; Haik (near Dessie) with a monastery on the island, and Ashange, further north, both close to the main Asmara road. The little lakes of Bishoftu, a favorite resort for picnic parties from Addis Ababa, are quite different again, lying most surprisingly in their pitlike craters.

The southern lakes are more numerous—nine in all, if the northern catchment of Lake Rudolf which extremity lies almost entirely in Kenya is included. They form a long line on the floor of the Rift Valley which cuts through southern Ethiopia and continues into Kenya. Several of them can be seen, though not at close quarters, from the direct road to the south. The first in the series is Lake Zwai, an attractive sheet of fresh water with intersecting rocky islands, which can be reached rather precariously in papyrus canoes, and only 100 miles from Addis Ababa. South of Zwai is a group of three salt or brackish lakes, then again, a nearly fresh one, Awasa, the shores of which are littered with drifted pumice-stone. Next, at a much lower level, is the great Lake Abbaya, shut in between tremendous mountain ranges. An old monastery is to be found to the west of this lake, known as Berber Mariam and founded by King Zara Yakob in the 14th century. The shores of Lake Abbaya are almost uninhabited; numerous dwellers though are on its islands among which there is always a brisk trade. Their boats are beautiful structures of *ambatch* (an extremely light wood) with graceful prows drawn up vertically to a fine tapering point.

Ethiopia, as said elsewhere, is a country of contrasts and rapid transitions; and it is possible to drop down, within a few miles, from the cold highlands to hot, arid desert. These lowlands and deserts, occupied (on the eastern side of the country) by the Somalis and

Danakils, may not appeal to the average visitor; there are some, however, who find a special attraction in such places. In central Danakil, a fiercely hot and utterly forbidding country far beyond the reach of the ordinary traveller, are some remarkable active volcanoes, and great salt pans which supply salt to all northern Ethiopia. A good specimen of a real desert can be seen in comfort by simply following the Dessie-Assab highway. The road passes through strange, lifeless landscapes of black rock and light sands, and crosses a faulted trough which is said to drop below sea level. Weird lava formations, like masses of twisted black treacle, can be seen both on the route and from the road or railway between Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa. The great oasis of Aussa, with its lakes and forests and abundant green pastures, presents an astonishing contrast to the surrounding wilderness; its outskirts can be reached by car.

In the wake of the ever-growing interest of the world in Ethiopia, cultural ties can be strengthened and cemented by such organs, not necessarily of a missionary character, to assist the people, especially the adults, in gaining a first-hand knowledge of how the peoples of the western democracies live and work, as the American Institute. Non-governmental and non-profit, the American Institute represents a bridge by which the American culture, history, life and civilization can reach the Ethiopian adult population; conversely, through which Ethiopian history, life and civilization may travel back to these United States of America. "Ignorance of each other's ways and lives has been the common cause throughout the history of mankind, of that suspicion and mistrust between peoples of the world through which their differences have all too often broken into open disagreement." Through the Association of American Colleges, between 1947 and 1948, several tuition scholarships were awarded to deserving Ethiopian students. This sort of aid should continue, for it has become essentially one of the world tasks of America to share the benefits of its progress with less fortunate members of the world community. The British Institute and the French Society which runs the Franco-Ethiopian Gabremariam Lycée are doing their bit in helping the Ethiopian Government and people in their vital task of education.

International trade contacts have always been maintained by Ethiopia with the outside world. Ethiopian foreign trade since 1930 has increased more than six times, rising from a level of approximately U.S.

$8,000,000 in the thirties to U.S. $22,000,000 in 1943, and has averaged about U.S. $54,000,000 in the period 1945-49. The country is still undeveloped, and therefore these figures represent the minimum of that country's trade contacts in terms of exports and imports. With the projects in mind and the myriad of others which can be put forward, finance capital is and will continue to be for a long time a pressing need for the goals of modernization set. In this, private capital can find a ready market. Labor is cheap and taxation low, which, with the desire of the Government to see that the natural resources of the country are developed, should attract funds seeking a reasonable margin of profit. Of prime necessity, as I see it, such long-term and lucrative fields as building and construction, transport and maintenance, mining and exploration of certain ores, railway construction, shipping and others constitute a vast source for world economic participation.

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